



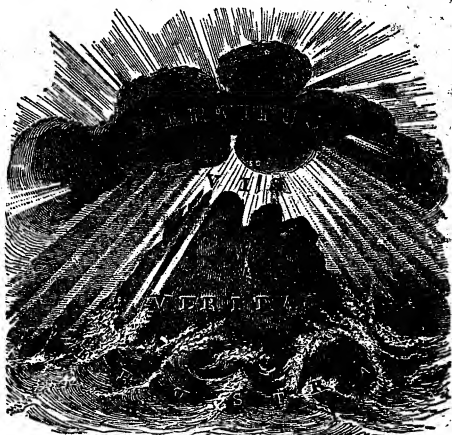
MY COUNTRY IS THE WORLD; MY RELIGION IS TO DO GOOD.—*Rights of Man.*

*Wm Goodell's*  
THE  
**LEGION OF LIBERTY!**  
AND  
**FORCE OF TRUTH,**

CONTAINING THE THOUGHTS, WORDS, AND DEEDS, OF SOME PROMINENT  
APOSTLES, CHAMPIONS AND MARTYRS.

SECOND DIVISION.

8



SUPER HARC PETRAM EDIFICABO.

shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free.—Jesus Christ.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

1842.

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THE IMAGE AND SUPERScription.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*Sine Libertate nihil bonum est, nihil expetendum hominibus.*—PLUTARCH.

THIS Legion of Liberty is a continuation of the pamphlets "Liberty," published within the last five years, which should have been generally distributed. "Liberty" comprised authorities for the most part prior to the organization of the "Abolitionists," this second division contains more of those who are technically so called; it should be read in connection with the other, without which it is incomplete. It will be found to include nearly every variety of the branches of its prolific theme; and of views, reasoning, facts, style, &c. These brief extracts are principally taken from the Anti-Slavery periodicals and publications, of which they give a general glimpse, and to which those willing to prosecute the subject are referred.

While by the common law of Nature we should be free as our original elements, and by the written law of our constitutions and statutes, we boast as our birth-right, of freedom, civil and religious, freedom of speech and of the press; still on this really practical and vitally important subject, which mainly regulates our legislation and morals, our political economy and national (want of,) prosperity and influence; the total enslavement of nearly three millions of our fellow human beings, the wretched victims of tyranny on their own native soil; here we stand convicted to our consciences and to the world, as the abject slaves of slavery. The pulpit is muzzled, it cannot speak; the press is fettered, it cannot move; the right arm of the law is manacled, it cannot stretch forth to maintain its own authority and supremacy. The defence of Liberty, "that holy principle, whose name is on every lip, on every coin, on every badge of the land," excites persecution in the church, proscription in the state, and infamy and outlawry in the social and domestic relations; and for all these outrages perpetrated in a land governed by public opinion, the signal cry is "Anti-Slavery! Abolition!" alias Freedom! Justice!

The severe pecuniary distress and general bankruptcy, has at last convinced all classes that the credit system implies corresponding debt; the day of reckoning foreseen by men of sound views has

come with aggravation proportioned at compound interest to its procrastination. The signs of the times manifestly declare that the generation is born which will also witness the death of slavery in these United States. Whether this human Augean stable, must be swept by a deluge of blood, or whether by a pure wholesome stream from Freedom's fount, the conversion of slaves into citizens, depends upon the sovereign people. The great Arbiter of events has left this yet in the control of his free agents. The varied scenes of horror, when the dread day of retribution shall arrive, the massacres, the wholesale rapine, the protracted tortures, the anarchy of a civil and a servile war;—no mortal has had the temerity to anticipate or imagine;—but it is written, "With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

In arguments and facts, appeals to sympathy and equity, the abolitionists have with them the Universe. The hydra-headed monster oppression shrinks instinctively convulsed from the reflection of its own hideous features, and by fraud, falsehood and violence, by lynch-law and gag-law, writhes to shun the exposure, but every plea and pretext ventured by it, or its infamous tools, inevitably recoils. "The slave" say they, "has less care and more ease than the master;" then, it is only fair that they should change conditions; which party would object?—"The slave is more comfortable and better provided for than the Northern Laborer;"—then all the battles and speeches, and writings, and preaching, and prayers for liberty are vain and false. To test this, propose to the free yeomanry and mechanics of the North, that they and their families forever, be elevated to the state of utter bondage of the South. "But the Abolitionists have put the cause of emancipation back half a century."—Not yet, for then the seven new slave states should be nullified, and the two millions increase of slaves be liberated. Within the last half century, the number of full blooded slave states has doubled, and the number of full blooded and half blooded slaves quadrupled. This frightful, this tremendous *increase*, gives the lie direct to the shameless, hypocritical pretence, that the present race of slave-mongers are guiltless, that the system was entailed on them, and they are not responsible. What measure has been attempted or suggested to prevent or restrain this geometrical ratio of increase. Is it the insane acts of the enslaved states of the south, and dought brains of the north, in smuggling in the recognition of Texas, and attempting the amalgamation of this *worthy* sister republic! a recognition which signed the death warrant of the union, which only waits annexation to be irrevocably sealed. Is it the Colonization Society, the Jesuitical engine of perpetual banishment to its colored victims, whose freedom here might be dangerous to the "peculiar institution;"—banishment! a cruel word, which even the rude Romans would not allow in their penal laws. This society which until lately perverted the sympathies and paralysed the energies of the few real friends of the oppressed, for the first sixteen of its most palmy and prosperous years, could by fraud or force effect the expulsion of only 2,162; this in sixteen years, while the increase of the colored slaves is 60,000 each year,

## ADVERTISEMENT.

Why not liberate and colonize them, where they were born and their fathers before them; here, where their services are needed, where, it is said, their labor is indispensable, without the enormous expense of transportation, and sacrifice of human lives in acclimation and hardships. Emancipation to be effectual must be general throughout the union; all compensation is encouragement except on condition that the system be annihilated. Were Maryland, for instance to declare itself a free state, most of her colored inhabitants would be torn from their relations and homes, where proximity and intercourse with the free states is some check to cruelty, and domestic employment and old attachment renders their condition comparatively endurable, to be driven to the plantations of the south west, to be whipped and starved to death on those human slaughter grounds; it would be, to lessen the evil in its mitigated, and extend it in its aggravated forms. The haughty ancient dominion, the mother of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, the Randolphs, and other staunch abolitionists, is compelled to obtain a livelihood by this noble means, the breeding of slaves for the human shambles, the trafficking in the nerves, hearts, and souls of her own colored sons and daughters, in whose veins frequently courses her best blood, and thus save "the slaves from advertising for runaway masters." And while this domestic slave trade is the staple business of the South, the foreign still rages with similar horrors, which only the extinction of its cause, the market for slaves, can suppress. Since nothing but evil can possibly flow either directly or remotely from this polluted source, slavery; instead of shutting the eyes like the idiot, frightened at his own shadow, and hiding the head in the dust like the stupid ostrich before destruction, why not grapple with the mortal foe like men, like freemen!

In lieu of any other or better plan, the following suggestions are offered:

Of the public lands a part were originally ceded by some of the old states, for the purpose of paying the national debt, which being accomplished, they should have reverted to the donor states; the rest were purchased by money from the public treasury, of which the proportion of the northern states would be about three-fourths. This domain being the common property of the common people, the most equitable and sure mode of dividing it among its owners, would be by an amendment of the constitution, to distribute the annual proceeds among the states in ratio of their representation, for the perpetual support of common schools in each state; the principal to be invested in internal improvements or loaned for banking purposes, the state being security for principal and 6 per cent interest; the interest to be appropriated and applied to common schools according to some plan of organization, of which the state of New-York probably presents the best model. As we have, and can have no established religion like the church-and-state despotisms, it is indispensable that we should have an established system of education, to ensure the general intelligence of the people, without which a republic is but a name. The public revenue should be raised directly by a tax on all property, that each may pay according to his ability, and know the amount he pays;

## ADVERTISEMENT.

and for what purpose. If the Chartists of Great Britain can be starved into compelling their oppressors to abolish the monstrous corn laws, we could be liberated from customs and tribute, and have free commerce, and each pay directly his just share of the necessary public expenses.

The North is implicated in the guilt, the odium, and the responsibility of southern slavery, and perhaps it would be a fair way of compromise to let the North raise one-half the amount, and the South the other half. Of any thing contributed through or by the general government, the north would pay three times as much as the south, that being about their relative ratio of support of government. But as, notwithstanding the implication of the North, it might be difficult to be persuaded that it has so much to do with Southern slavery as to submit to direct taxation for abolition; and as the "Public Lands," is, and is likely to be a vexed question, perhaps it will be better to waive any other disposition of them, and apply them to the extinction of human bondage, thus meet the south half way and make a compromise, not of principle, which is impossible, but in order to agree about the best means to attain it.

The British Nation paid in 1834, \$8,000,000 towards remunerating the West India Planter's for about 800,000 slaves; this ratio would make for two and three-fourth millions of slaves in the United States, about \$300,000,000. If the public lands were pledged to secure a fund of the amount of \$200,000,000, the north would pay three-fourths, or \$150,000,000, being half of the whole; each Southern state willing to become free could tax all its property, including slaves, to supply the other half.

If this estimate be thought too low, be it recollected that the approximation from a paper credit currency towards a specie basis has condensed the value of money some fifty per cent, since the purchase of slaves by the British, which is the rate of their valuation here proposed; and in the event of abolition by the United States, there would be but few other buyers even at the lowest rates. Besides, the real estate of the south would then be enhanced at least one half, and its representation greatly extended, for instead of "three-fifths of other persons," they would have the suffrage of the whole five-fifths; the entire union would be no longer ruled by the representatives of slaves, nor the south by martial and mob law. It might perhaps be more equitable and convenient for both the North and the South, if the nett proceeds of the lands were pledged towards a fund of \$200,000,000 with 6 per cent interest thereon, for a term of twenty years, and then if found inadequate, the deficiency to be supplied by the general government, and the surplus lands to revert to the people of the Union. The immense national domain should, if well managed, produce a large revenue; we see great and growing states, as Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, carved out, but where are the proceeds of the spoils of the poor Indian, the rightful proprietor from time immemorial,—shared among the agents, squatters, and speculators. If the amount realized from the public lands, could be so large that one half would compensate the south, it were highly desirable that the other moiety be applied to universal education, including those liberated.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

It is here proposed, that "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain and establish this,"

### ADDITIONAL AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

Article XIII. § 1. The public lands of the United States shall be pledged and appropriated as a fund on the part of the United States towards remunerating the slave states for the release of their slaves.

§ 2. Slavery is utterly and forever abolished throughout the United States, their territories, and domains; in all of which there shall be no disfranchisement or privilege on account of color or race, and any thing and every thing in any constitution or statute to the contrary is forever null and void.

§ 3. The United States will hold no intercourse by treaty, alliance, or commerce, with any nation, state, or people, that tolerates human slavery within its jurisdiction.

The words in the constitution, art. I, § 2, "three-fifths of all other persons," and the 3d clause, sect. 2, Art. IV, will thus become a dead letter. Any slave state unwilling to unite in this amendment and become free, can of course secede; it will leave a larger share of the land fund for the others.

As to the 3d section, We certainly have a right to say with whom we will associate, trade, or form alliances; and after we have done justice ourselves, to ask others to do likewise. The United States law of 1820, declares, not only that every citizen, but every person found engaged in the foreign slave trade shall be adjudged a pirate and shall suffer death. Besides, we should have to decline but few acquaintances, Spain and Portugal, Brazil & Co.

If the united North would only say one word, "Ay!" would but hold up its hand in token of assent, would deposit its ballot in token of its decision, such an amendment might be adopted; the flaming fire-brand of discord which threatens general conflagration and chaos, be converted into the beaming torch of amity and unity. By this retrograde stride, the patriot and the philanthropist, the friends of justice and humanity would be set at liberty to attempt, in some degree, to repair the evils, the errors, and the crimes accumulated for more than half a century by the bloody dynasty of slavery.

Then might be realized, as is yet reversed, the aspiration of La Fayette in his farewell address to Congress, after he had achieved our emancipation, "May this great monument raised to Liberty, serve as a lesson to the oppressor, and an example to the oppressed;" then instead of being a warning beacon, we might become a guiding luminary to the nations of the earth; then no longer would the lines of Byron on Napoleon's failure, be applicable to the United States of America:

"A single step into the right had made  
This 'Land' the Washington of worlds betrayed;  
A single step into wrong has given  
It's name a scoff to all the winds of heaven!" J. R. A.



### FREEDOM'S WREATH.

We'll search the earth, the air, the sea,  
To cull a gallant WREATH for THEE!  
And every field for freedom fought,  
And vale, and shore, and mount, where aught,  
Of Liberty could ere be found,  
Shall be our blooming harvest ground—  
From victor's arch, from martyr's pall,  
Triumphal or funereal,  
For law, and equal rights, and life,  
Who won or fell in holy strife.

## FREEDOM'S WREATH.

In garlands, *Laurels* hang upon  
 Thermopylæ and Marathon;  
 And on Philippi's fatal field,  
 The *Cypress* mourns thy broken shield;  
 On Runimede the fragrant *Rose*,  
 On Bannockburn the *Thistle* grows;  
 And on the banks of Boyne, its leaves  
 Green Erin's *Shamrock* wildly weaves;  
 Though prostrate now, brave Poland's *Oak*,  
 To tyrants bent not till it broke;  
 In France, in sunny France, we'll get  
 The *Fleur-de-lis* and *Violet*,  
 From consecrated mound and vale  
 Of Huguenot and Liberal.  
 Old Bunker-Hill and Yorktown's shore  
 Will yield green *Bays* till time's no more;  
 And *Sea-Grass* and the *Corals* grow  
 Below Atlantic Seas, below  
 The waves of Erie and Champlain,  
 In rostral trophies round the slain.  
*Tobacco's* pungent leaves proclaim  
 Of martyred men a continent,  
 That Indians nought but death could tame,  
 Stern Freedom's mighty monument.  
 The *Cactus* thrives in Mexico;  
 Colombia bears the *Cacao*;  
 Swarth Hayti's stubborn isle supplies  
 Its *Palm-tree* towering tow'rd the skies,  
 From which to pluck to fill thy crown,  
 Some branches worthy thy renown;  
 On sad Bengal's ensanguined plains  
 The ancient *Banyan* yet remain;  
 In Italy and Hungary,  
 The *Vine* in air spread clusters free;  
 O'er all uprears the 'n crested Dove,  
 Her *Olive*, pledge of Peace and Love.  
 The *Level*, Shield and Jewel fair,  
 Badge of *Equality* you wear;  
 The tri-colored band, red, white, and blue,  
 Combines the fervent, pure, and true.  
 Aye may the CHAPLET flourish bright,  
 Reflecting like the heavens thy light;  
 With glory, aye thy brow be bound,  
 With glory, aye thy head be crown'd,  
 While Earth, and Air, and Sky, and Sea,  
 Yield up their glorious WREATH to THEE.



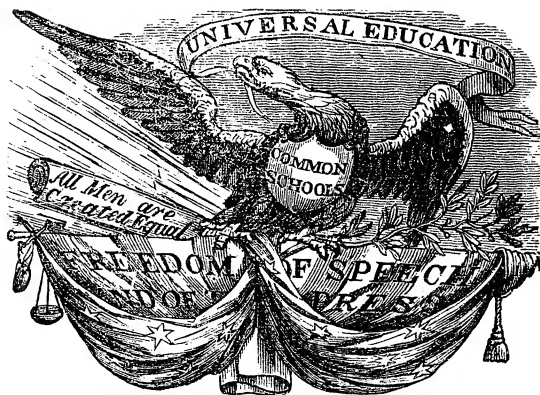
*all men are created equal*

*Th Jefferson*

*Si Monumentum quaris, circumspice.*

HIS COUNTRY IS HIS MONUMENT.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.



*Arms of the United States of North America.*

## THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A PART OF THE ORIGINAL AS DRAFTED BY JEFFERSON, AND SUPPRESSED BY SOUTHERN INFLUENCE.

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare—the opprobrium of *infidel* powers—is the warfare of the *Christian* King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us,\* and to purchase that liberty of which *he* has deprived them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another.

[\* This society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed, in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.—*Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Art. III.*]

# THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.



*Philanthropy imploring America to release the Slave and revive Liberty.*

## LUTHER MARTIN.

*The Genuine Information delivered to the Legislature of Maryland.*

The report was adopted by a majority of the convention, but not without considerable opposition. It was said, that we had just assumed a place among independent nations, in consequence of our opposition to the attempts of Great Britain to *enslave us*; that this opposition was grounded upon the *preservation of those rights*, to which God and Nature entitled *us*, not in *particular*, but in *common with all the rest of mankind*. That we had *appealed to the Supreme Being* for his assistance, as the *God of Freedom*, who could not but *approve* our efforts to preserve the *rights* which he had thus *imparted to his creatures*; that now, when we scarcely had risen from our *knees*, from *supplicating his aid and protection*—in forming our government over a *free people*, a government formed pretendedly on the principles of liberty and for its preservation—in that government to have a provision not only putting it out of its power to restrain and prevent the slave-trade, even encouraging that most infamous traffic, by giving the states power and influence in the Union in proportion as they cruelly and wantonly sport with the rights of their fellow-creatures, ought to be considered as a solemn mockery of, and insult to, that God whose protection we had then implored, and could not fail to hold us up in detestation, and render us contemptible to every true friend of liberty in the world. It was said, it ought to be considered that national crimes can only be, and frequently are, punished in this world by national punishments; and that the continuance of the slave-trade, and thus giving it a national sanction and encouragement, ought to be considered as justly exposing us to the displeasure and vengeance of him, who is equally Lord of all, and who views with equal eye, the poor African slave and his American master!

## LUTHER MARTIN.

It was urged that by this system, we were giving the general government full and absolute power to regulate commerce, under which general power it would have a right to restrain, or totally prohibit the slave-trade: it must, therefore, appear to the world absurd and disgraceful to the last degree, that we should except from the exercise of that power, the only branch of commerce which is unjustifiable in its nature, and contrary to the rights of mankind. That on the contrary we ought rather to prohibit expressly in our constitution, the further importation of slaves; and to authorize the general government from time to time, to make such regulations as should be thought most advantageous for the gradual abolition of slavery, and the emancipation of the slaves which are already in the states.

That slavery is inconsistent with the genius of republicanism, and has a tendency to destroy those principles on which it is supported, as it lessens the sense of the equal rights of mankind, and habituates us to tyranny and oppression. It was further urged, that by this system of government, every state is to be protected both from foreign invasion and from domestic insurrections; that from this consideration, it was of the utmost importance it should have a power to restrain the importation of slaves, since in proportion as the number of slaves was increased in any state, in the same proportion the state was weakened and exposed to foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection, and by so much less it will be able to protect itself against either; and therefore will by so much the more, want aid from, and be a burthen to, the union. It was further said, that as in this system we were giving the general government a power, under the idea of national character, or national interest, to regulate even our weights and measures, and have prohibited all possibility of emitting paper money, and passing insolvent laws, &c., it must appear still more extraordinary, that we should prohibit the government from interfering with the slave-trade, than which nothing could so materially affect both our national honor and interest. These reasons influenced me both on the committee and in convention, most decidedly to oppose and vote against the clause as it now makes a part of the system.

At this time we do not generally hold this commerce in so great abhorrence as we have done. When our liberties were at stake, we warmly felt for the common rights of men. The danger being thought to be past, which threatened ourselves, we are daily growing more insensible to those rights. In those states who have restrained or prohibited the importation of slaves, it is only done by legislative acts which may be repealed. When those states find that they must in their national character and connexion suffer in the disgrace, and share in the inconveniences attendant upon that detestable and iniquitous traffic, they may be desirous also to share in the benefits arising from it, and the odium attending it will be greatly effaced by the sanction which is given it in the general government.

With respect to that part of the second section of the first article, which relates to the apportionment of representation and direct taxation, there were considerable objections made to it, besides the great

objection of inequality. It was urged, that no principle could justify taking slaves into computation in apportioning the number of representatives a state should have in the government. That it involved the absurdity of increasing the power of a state in making laws for freemen, in proportion as that state violated the rights of freedom. That it might be proper to take slaves into consideration, when taxes were to be apportioned, because it had a tendency to discourage slavery ; but to take them into account in giving representation tended to encourage the slave-trade, and to make it the interest of the states to continue that infamous traffic. That slaves could not be taken into account as men, or citizens, because they were not admitted to the rights of citizens, in the states which adopted or continued slavery. If they were to be taken into account as property, it was asked, what peculiar circumstance should render this property (of all others the most odious in its nature) entitled to the high privilege of conferring consequence and power in the government to its possessors, rather than any other : and why slaves should, as property, be taken into account rather than horses, cattle, mules, or any other species ; and it was observed by an honorable member from Massachusetts,\* that he considered it as dishonorable and humiliating to enter into compact with the slaves of the southern states, as it would with the horses and mules of the eastern.

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\* ELBRIDGE GERRY.

The idea of property ought not to be the rule of representation. Blacks are property, and are used to the southward as horses and cattle to the northward ; and why should their representation be increased to the southward on account of the number of slaves, than horses or oxen to the north ?—*Secret debates of the Convention for forming the U. S. Constitution, 1787.*

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### DE WITT CLINTON.

PATRIA CARA, CARIOR LIBERTAS.

DEAR IS MY COUNTRY, LIBERTY IS DEARER,

Was the motto of the arms of De Witt Clinton, inscribed generally in front of the works of his extensive library.

As early as 1797, in the New-York Legislature, he devoted his attention to the gradual abolition of Slavery.

In the Senate of New-York, 1809-11, he introduced laws to prevent kidnapping, or the farther introduction of slaves, and to punish those who should treat them inhumanly.

As Governor of the State of New-York, in his speech to the Legislature, Jan. 4, 1820, while on the subject of filling the vacancy in the United States Senate, he says, alluding to the Missouri question:

"Nor can I conceal on this occasion, the deep anxiety which I feel on a subject now under the consideration of the General Government; and which is unfortunately calculated to produce geographical distinctions. Highly important as it is to allay feelings so inauspicious, yet I consider the interdiction of the extension of slavery, a paramount consideration. Morally and politically speaking, Slavery is an evil of the first magnitude; and whatever may be the consequences, it is our duty to prohibit its progress in all cases where such prohibition is allowed by the Constitution. No evil can result from its inhibition, more pernicious than its toleration; and I earnestly recommend the expression of your sense on this occasion, as equally due to the character of the State and the prosperity of the empire."

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### JAMES MADISON.

The United States having been the first to abolish, within the extent of their authority, the transportation of the natives of Africa into slavery, by prohibiting the introduction of slaves, and by punishing their citizens participating in the traffic, cannot but be gratified by the progress made by concurrent efforts of other nations toward a general suppression of so great an evil. They must feel at the same time, the greater solicitude to give the fullest efficacy to their own regulations. With that view, the interposition of Congress appears to be required by the violations and evasions which, it is suggested, are chargeable on unworthy citizens, who mingle in the slave trade under foreign flags, and with foreign ports; and by collusive importations of slaves into the United States, through adjoining ports and territories. I present the subject to Congress, with a full assurance of their disposition to apply all the remedy which can be afforded by an amendment of the law. The regulations which were intended to guard against abuses of a kindred character in the trade between the several states, ought also to be more effectual for their humane object.—*Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1816.*

## JAMES MONROE.

It is the cause of serious regret, that no arrangement has yet been finally concluded between the two governments, to secure, by joint co-operation, the suppression of the slave trade. It was the object of the British government, in the early stages of the negotiation, to adopt the plan for the suppression, which should include the concession of the mutual right of search by the ships of war of each party, of the vessels of the other, for suspected offenders. This was objected to by this government, on the principle that as the right of search was a right of war of a belligerent towards a neutral power, it might have an ill effect to extend it by treaty, to an offence that had been made comparatively mild, to a time of peace. Anxious, however, for the suppression of this trade, it was thought advisable, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, founded on an act of Congress, to propose to the British government an expedient which should be free from that objection, and more effectual for the object, by making it piratical. In that mode, the enormity of the crime would place the offenders out of the protection of their government, and involve no question of search, or other question, between the parties, touching their respective rights. It was believed, also, that it would completely suppress the trade in the vessels of both the parties, and by their respective citizens and subjects, in those of other powers with whom, it was hoped, that the odium which would thereby be attached to it, would produce a corresponding arrangement, and by means thereof, its entire extirpation forever. A convention to this effect was concluded and signed in London, on the thirteenth day of March, one thousand, eight hundred, and twenty-four, by plenipotentiaries duly authorized by both governments, to the ratification of which certain obstacles have arisen, which are not yet entirely removed. The difference between the parties still remaining has been reduced to a point not of sufficient magnitude, as is presumed, to be permitted to defeat an object so near to the heart of both nations, and so desirable to the friends of humanity throughout the world.—[*Message to Congress, Dec. 7, 1824.*

I have no hesitation to declare it as my opinion, that the Indian title was not affected in the slightest circumstance by the compact with Georgia, and that there is no obligation on the United States to remove the Indians by force. The express stipulation of the compacts that their title should be extinguished at the expense of the United States, when it may be done *peaceably* and on *reasonable* conditions, is a full proof that it was the clear and distinct understanding of both parties to it, that the Indians had a right to the territory, in the disposal of which they were to be regarded as free agents.—*Special Message, April 1, 1824.*

## SAMUEL. L. MITCHELL

By the wise policy of our [New-York] legislature, the shackles of feudal bondage have been knocked off, and our citizens, who feel nothing of vassalage or servitude, act with the spirit of freemen.—The abrogation of the laws of entails and of primogeniture, has had the most happy effect in rendering easy the division and alienation of real property, whereby the natural right of every man to a certain part of the earth's surface, which, in former times, had been violently and unjustly wrested from the greatest part of those who had advanced much above barbaric rudeness, is restored, and with it that mediocrity of condition which hears with honest indignation the "monstrous faith of *many* made for *one*." The allodial and socage tenures of our lands, by giving free scope to purchasers, and undivided profit to cultivators, have paved the way to more virtue and happiness, than all the mines of Peru and Mexico ever have afforded.

Upon calculations and estimates fairly made, it appears that the profits of plantations must be enormous to support a slave cultivation. The income of a rice, an indigo, a sugar or a tobacco estate, has been great enough in the newly cultivated lands of some of the Southern States and West India Islands, to admit of this mode of management. But at present the profits seem not so prodigious as they have heretofore been. The dearness of West India sugars, the prohibition of new importations of slaves in some places, and the introduction of the plough instead of the hoe, all indicate the decline of slavery, and all prove it to be less and less the true interest of the planters to conduct their business in the old way. Where the produce of a farm is bread—corn, flax, hemp, grass, and live stock, the profits are moderate, and the labor of free men is generally preferred, as most consistent with good economy: accordingly, in the northern states, slavery is entirely abolished. It appears from the great depreciation and frequent manumissions of slaves in this state, that our fellow citizens are becoming convinced of the same truth by experience. Upon taking a survey of the slave-holders with whom I am acquainted, I find those who have the greatest numbers to be men of considerable hereditary estates in land, or of a handsome capital acquired by marriage or bequest, but I cannot name an instance of a man of small property ever getting rich upon the profits of slave-labor. Therefore the kitchen establishments of those who keep fifteen or twenty negroes, are not to be considered as matters of revenue, but of expense, just after the manner of a stud of supernumerary horses, kept either to indulge the pride or gratify the prejudice of their owner. It is to a conviction of the impolicy and expensiveness of this kind of service, rather than to any moral or religious consideration on the subject, that the decline of slavery is principally to be attributed.—*Oration before the New-York State Agricultural Society, Jan. 10. 1792.*

## ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

"In one of your gazettes, I find an association against the slavery of negroes, which seems to be worded in such a way as to give no offence to the moderate men in the southern states. As I have ever been partial to my brethren of that color, I wish, if you are in the society, you would move, in your own name, for my being admitted on the list."—*Letter to Hamilton, from La Fayette.*

This association, emanating from one previously formed in Philadelphia, was composed of individuals, of whom the most active were members of the society of Friends. At its second meeting Jay was chosen president, and a committee raised, of which Hamilton was chairman, to devise a system for effecting its objects.

Believing that the influence of such an example would be auspicious, he proposed a resolution that every member of the society should manumit his own slaves.

He never owned a slave; but on the contrary, having learned that a domestic whom he had hired was about to be sold by her master, he immediately purchased her freedom.—*Life by John C. Hamilton.*

## NATHANIEL CHIPMAN.

Notwithstanding the antiquity of Slavery, and confirmed as it is, and has been, by the civil institutions of so many countries, we cannot hesitate to say, it is supported by no right, no principle, acknowledged by the laws of Nature; that it is inconsistent with all natural right;—the right of personal liberty, of personal security, and of private property,—all are violated or rather annihilated in the person of the slave. Not only does it violate rights and principles allowed natural, but it fails in that safe and sure test of every law of Nature, and of all civil institutions as founded in those laws, its tendency to promote the general interest and happiness of the society where it prevails, as well as of mankind in general. Its general tendency is, in every just view, directly the reverse,—so generally is this now understood, that to attempt the proof, would be as tedious as it is unnecessary.

Still there is an important distinction between this and other kinds of property. The right of the master in the slave is truly a mere civil and not a natural right. The right of the owner in the common, as we may say, natural subjects of property is a natural right and is every where respected and supported by the laws of Nature as well as of society. The right of the master ceases the moment he passes with his slave into a country or state, where there is no law or custom to support it; or unless, as in the United States, there is some provision to protect his property in the slave accompanying him. So a slave escaping into such a state becomes free, unless a provision have been made, enabling the master to reclaim him. But if a slave owner remove with his slave into a state to reside where there is no law to protect his right, it ceases at once, and the slave becomes ipso facto free; because the laws of that state protect all men alike in their natural rights.—*Principles of Government.*

## WILLIAM PENN.

"Amongst the many instances of the humanity of his character, we must reckon his attention to the civilization and instruction of the Indians; and the same care extended to the poor neglected Africans, who were employed at that time as slaves in the province. It was not then deemed infamous to traffic in slaves; but some of the Quakers at their yearly meeting for Pennsylvania, held in 1688, perceived its iniquity, and resolved that the buying, selling, and holding men in slavery, was inconsistent with the tenets of the christian religion; and in consequence of these opinions had begun to treat their slaves as the children of the universal parent, and joint heirs of the same hopes of a glorious immortality.

"A meeting was appointed particularly for them, to be held once every month; and as a further security for their comfort and improvement, a legislative act was proposed in their favor. Marriage was encouraged among them, and they were induced by precept and example to lead an orderly, sober life. But in these excellent resolutions, he had the mortification to meet with some opposition."—*Priscilla Wakefield*.

## ELIAS HICKS.

In the pride of our own hearts, we are endeavoring to be exalted through the cruel oppression of our fellow creatures. Our poor fellow creatures are held in the most cruel bondage all their lives, while some are feasting on the result of their labors, and becoming enriched from them, even by the sweat and blood of their fellow creatures against their will. And they are forced to it by their cruel masters.

Now let us seek for the root of all this. Had man been rational in all his actions, it never could have been the case. For when we consider that Almighty goodness has dispensed to every one a measure of his grace and of his Holy Spirit, whereby we are to profit, how astonishing it appears that a fellow creature could ever put his hand out to bring into bondage another fellow creature! But it is all founded in iniquity, tradition, and custom.

Look at this deeply, my dear friends, for we are deeply in debt. And when I look round sometimes, I feel as if it were almost impossible for the people of this land to clear themselves of this iniquity. It has been of so long continuance, and they have brought themselves so deeply in debt, that it seems as if they could never make reconciliation for their injustice; and especially so, as it regards the professing people called Quakers. How could they ever have consented to hold a slave, to buy or sell one, or to live by a neighbor who had one, without bearing testimony against him? Could they ever do it without relinquishing their principle? While the light of truth in the heart was their guide as well as their profession, they never could; for every one must acknowledge that this oppression is founded in iniquity, ungodliness and sin. And we must be astonished how a person, professing what we as a society profess, could for one moment lay his power upon a fellow creature, and by dint of the

sword, keep him under his power, and drive him to his work without giving him a reward. You must know that the sword has operated, or there never would have been a slave; it was by the power of the sword that they were brought under, and into this oppression; and so it is the dread of the sword that keeps them there. For were a slave to believe for a moment, that the sword would not be exercised upon him, he would be no longer a slave—he could not be ore. Here then, we see the force of tradition and custom, as Jesus declared concerning the Scribes and Pharisees—"Thus have ye made the commandments of God of none effect by your traditions."

Now what could operate upon those, who have seemed to be somewhat willing minded, and who are professing as we do, to lead them to hold a fellow creature for a moment in slavery? It is the dreadful consequence of tradition, by which the commandments of God are made of none effect.

Now pause, dear friends and people. What is our condition? Are we strengthening the hands of the oppressor? If so, we are guilty; for the partakers of that which has been procured by robbery and stealing, are considered as bad as the principal actors. Now this is a small matter, when compared with taking away the free agency of our fellows, which is every thing to them—it is the source of all their joy and pleasure. They are thus reduced to miserable, abject animals, without any privilege to think or act for themselves. How the robber and the thief sink on a comparison with the oppressor! For the thief goes silyly, and gets a little from his fellow creature, but does not hurt his person, and perhaps gets but a portion of what the other enjoys; and sometimes the other is as well without it as with it.

And how is it with the robber? He does not want to do an act of violence, if he can get his prey; and when the property is given up, he leaves the owner to get more, or enjoy what he may have left. But let us look on the other side at the injustice and cruelty which is manifested towards our fellow creatures, when we destroy the liberty of those to whom God has given a choice. Here we see that a creature rises up before God Almighty, and presumes to take away the free agency of a fellow creature, and to bring him into a state of slavery and oppression, and to destroy his will. And if he should exert it a little, what comes next? The sword or the lash! How many there are, who, for speaking their own will a little, have fallen dead before their masters.

I want us to go into an examination for ourselves, that we may see what wonderful power tradition has, among those, even, who have seen this oppression to be superfluous. Yet being long in the practice of seeing it, and having grown up from the cradle in the midst of it, they fall into and become amalgamated with those who are guilty of it. And so it is they continue using the produce of their poor miserable fellow creatures, who are dying daily. For their suffering is like a slow torment to bring them to their end, like that which cruel tyrants of the earth have sometimes devised, to cause their victims to be a great while under torture, instead of taking their life suddenly.

## TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

*From the Poem "Greenfield Hill," dedicated to John Adams.*

Oft wing'd by thought I seek those Indian isles,  
 Where endless spring with endless summer smiles ;  
 Where fruits of gold untir'd Vertumnus pours,  
 And Flora dances o'er undying flowers ;—  
 There, as I walk through fields as Eden gay,  
 And breathe the incense of immortal day,  
 Ceaseless I hear the smacking whip rebound—  
 Hark ! that shrill scream ! those groans of death resound !  
 See those throng'd wretches pant along the plain,  
 Tug the hard hoe, and sigh in hopeless pain !  
 Yon mother loaded with her sucking child,  
 Her rags with frequent spots of blood defil'd,  
 Drags slowly fainting on ; the fiend is nigh,  
 Rings the shrill cowskin, roars the tiger cry.  
 In pangs the unfriended suppliant crawls along,  
 And shrieks the prayer of agonizing wrong.  
 Why glows yon oven with a sevenfold fire ?  
 Crisp'd in the flame behold a man expire !  
 Lo ! by that vampyre's hand, yon infant dies ;  
 Its brains dash'd out beneath its father's eyes !  
 Why shrinks yon slave with horror from his meat ?  
 Heavens ! 'tis his flesh the wretch is forced to eat !  
 Why streams the life blood from that female throat ?  
 She sprinkled gravy on a guest's new coat !  
 Why crowd those groaning blacks the docks around ?  
 Those screams announce, that cowskins' crackling sound.  
 See that poor victim hanging from the crane,  
 While loaded weights his limbs to torture strain.  
 At each keen stroke, far spouts the bursting gore,  
 And shrieks and dying groans fill all the shore.  
 Around in throngs his brother victims wait,  
 And feel in every stroke their coming fate ;  
 While each with palsied hands, and shuddering fears,  
 The cause, the rule, the price of torment bears.  
 Hark, hark, from morn to night the realm around,  
 The cracking whip, keen taunt, and shriek resound.  
 O'ercast are all the splendors of the spring,  
 Sweets court in vain ; in vain the warblers sing.  
 Illusions all ! 'tis Tartarus round me spreads  
 His dismal screams and melancholy shades,  
 The damned, sure, here clank th' eternal chain,  
 And waste with grief, or agonize with pain.  
 A Tartarus new ! emission strange of hell,  
 Guilt wreaks the vengeance, and the guiltless feel,  
 The heart not formed of flint here all things rend,  
 Each fair a fury, and each man a fiend,  
 From childhood train'd to every baleful ill,  
 And their first sport to torture or to kill.

## ELIPHALET NOTT.

"Whatever tends to divert the attention of any community from honest industry, and to substitute any other plan of operations for a livelihood, is an enemy to the race. Slavery does this, as its object is to tax the sweat and sinew of its victims, that its institutors and abettors may live without labor, and spend their time in idleness and luxury; it is therefore, an enemy to the peace and prosperity of any people among whom it exists; it is contrary to the order of nature, and the laws of our being and benevolence would invite to labor for its removal. In proof of his position, the Dr. clearly exhibited the striking contrast in prosperity and happiness which is so conspicuous between those sections of the world where slavery exists, and labor is avoided as direputable, and those where universal freedom and liberty reign. He pointed out the greater security for property and life, where honest labor and freedom dwell, than where an important portion of the people live upon the unrequited toil of those who groan under the yoke of interminable servitude. In the one these great interests are made safe by a healthy public sentiment, and the enforcement of salutary laws; in the other, attempts are made to secure them by the private operation of the pistol, the dirk, and the bowie knife. 'Oh! for a lodge in some vast wilderness,' he cried, ending with, 'I would not have a slave to till my ground, to carry me and fan me while I sleep and tremble when I wake, for all the gold which sinews bought and sold have ever earned! No! dear as freedom is, and in my heart's estimation prized above all price, I would much rather be *myself* the slave, and wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.' At the conclusion of this beautiful extract from Cowper, which was uttered in Dr. Nott's peculiar, emphatic and eloquent manner, a loud burst of applause and cheering succeeded.

"He then declared, that notwithstanding these sentiments, he would not say a word to encourage the disturbance or severance of the constituted relation and connection which formed the Union, or interfere in the least degree with the rights of independent States. Although slavery was contrary to the eternal and immutable laws of our being, and therefore, retarded and opposed our true interests as a nation, yet if we of the North had, in the origin of our government agreed to give a '*pound of flesh*,' let us give it to the full extent of the *bond*; yet, let not those who choose to maintain this unnatural and unpropitious 'institution,' exact of those who reject it, any greater concessions in its favor, than is contained in that '*bond*.' Do they contend that we shall not interfere with their 'rights?' then let them not interfere with our 'rights,' or complain if we use our 'speech' or our 'press' in declaring the truth concerning this unprofitable institution, for these are our birth-'rights' and firmly guaranteed inviolate too by this same '*bond of union*.'"—*Address to the New-York State Agricultural Society, Sept. 1841.*

## WILLIAM YATES.

By the freehold qualification now affixed to the right of voting by colored citizens of the state of New-York, a large number of the people of the state, who, from 1777, when the old constitution was formed, for forty-five years had enjoyed the right of voting, on the same terms as white citizens, were disfranchised. The odious principle of making discriminations among men, on the ground of color, was established; and, by engrafting it into the fundamental law of the state, a monument of injustice has been reared, which will take years to demolish.

The convention of 1821, contained as large a number of men of the first order of mind and attainments, as any similar body ever assembled in the United States. And it is a trait worthy of notice, in the members of that assembly, that the most respectable, the purest and best, were found on the side of the colored people. It would be invidious, perhaps, to discriminate among the living, though we could point to such men as a Chancellor Kent, a Jay, and Van Rensselaer. But in regard to the dead, many of the worthiest and ablest in that body are now of that number. And of these are Jonas Platt, and Wm. W. Van Ness, both, when living, Justices of the Supreme Court, Rufus King, long a senator of the United States, and Abraham Van Vechten, in life the well known patriarch of the New-York Bar, all of whom, and others who might be named, advocated the rights of the people of color. The first vote was 63 to 59 for preserving their rights.—*Rights of Colored Men.*

## NATHAN SANFORD.

Here there is, but one estate—the people. And, to me, the only qualification seems to be, their virtue and morality. If they may be safely trusted to vote for one class of rulers, why not for all? The principle of the scheme now presented, is, that those who bear the burdens of the state shall choose those that rule it; and we wish to carry it almost as far as our male population. It is the scheme which has been proposed by a majority of the committee, and they think it safe and beneficial.

## PETER A. JAY.

It was not expected that this right of suffrage was in any instance to be restricted, much less was it anticipated, or desired, that a single person was to be disfranchised. Why, sir, are these men to be excluded from rights which they possess in common with their countrymen? What crime have they committed for which they are to be punished? Why are they, who were born as free as ourselves, natives of the same country, and deriving from nature and our political institutions the same rights and privileges which we have, now to be deprived of all those rights, and doomed to remain for ever as aliens among us? We are told, in reply, that other states have set us the example. It is true that other states treat this race of men with cruelty and injustice, and that we have hitherto manifested towards them a disposition to be just and liberal. Yet even in Vir-

ginia and North Carolina, free people of color are permitted to vote, and if I am correctly informed, exercise that privilege. In Pennsylvania, they are much more numerous than they are here, and there they are not disfranchised, [altered in 1838,] nor has any inconvenience been felt from extending to all men the rights which ought to be common to all.

### ROBERT CLARKE.

Free people of color are included in the number which regulates your representation in congress. and I wish to know how freemen can be represented when they are deprived of the privilege of voting for representatives. The constitution says, "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the different states, according to the inhabitants thereof, including all free persons," &c. All colors and complexions are here included. It is not free "white" persons. No sir, our venerable fathers entertained too strong a sense of justice to countenance such an odious distinction. Now, sir, taking this in connexion with the declaration of independence, I think you cannot exclude them without being guilty of a palpable violation of every principle of justice. We are usurping to ourselves a power which we do not possess; and by so doing, deprive them of a privilege to which they are, and always have been, justly entitled—an invaluable right—a right in which we have prided ourselves as constituting our superiority over every other people on earth—a right which they have enjoyed ever since the formation of our government—the right of suffrage. And why do we do this? Instead of visiting the iniquities of these people upon them and their children, we are visiting their misfortunes upon them and their posterity unto the latest generation.

In this very house, in the fall of 1814, a bill passed, receiving the approbation of all the branches of your government, authorizing the governor to accept the services of a corps of 2000 free people of color. Sir, these were times which tried men's souls. In these times it was no sporting matter to bear arms. These were times when a man who shouldered his musket, did not know but he bared his bosom to receive a death wound from the enemy ere he laid it aside; and in these times, these people were found as ready and as willing to volunteer in your service as any other. They were not compelled to go, they were not drafted. No, your pride had placed them beyond your compulsory power. But there was no necessity for its exercise; they were volunteers; yes sir, volunteers to defend from the inroads and ravages of a ruthless and vindictive foe, that very country which had treated them with insult, degradation, and slavery. Volunteers are the best of soldiers; give me the men, whatever be their complexion, that willingly volunteer, and not those who are compelled to turn out; such men do not fight from necessity, nor from mercenary motives, but from principle. Such men formed the most efficient corps for your country's defence in the late war; and of such consisted the crews of your squadrons on Erie and Champlain, who largely contributed to the safety and peace of your country, and the renown of her arms. Yet, strange to tell, such are the men whom you seek to degrade and oppress.

## JAMES KENT.

There was much difficulty in the practical operation of the principle involved in the use of the word white. What shall be the criterion in deciding upon the different shades of color. The Hindoo and Chinese are called yellow—the Indian red—shall these be excluded, should they come and reside among us? Great efforts were now making in the christian world to enlighten and improve their condition, and he thought it inexpedient to erect a barrier that should exclude them for ever from the enjoyment of this important right.

He was disposed, however, to annex such qualifications and conditions as should prevent them from coming in bodies from other states to vote at elections.

Slavery existed in this state at the time of the revolution, and yet it was not recognized in the constitution. There was no such thing known in the constitution of the non-slave-holding states, with the exception of Connecticut, as a denial to the blacks of those electoral privileges that were enjoyed by the whites. In Europe, the distinction of color was unknown. The judges of England said, even so long ago as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the air of England was too pure for a slave to breathe in. The same law prevails in Scotland, Holland, France, and most of the other kingdoms of Europe.

## ABRAHAM VAN VECHTEN.

We are precluded from denying their citizenship, by our uniform recognition for more than forty years—nay some of them were citizens when this state came into political existence—partook in our struggle for freedom and independence, and were incorporated into the body politic at its creation. As to their degradation, that had been produced by the injustice of white men, and it does not become those who have acted so unjustly towards them, to urge the result of that injustice as a reason for perpetuating their degradation. The period has elapsed when they were considered and treated as the lawful property of their masters. Our legislature has duly recognised their unalienable right to freedom as rational and accountable beings. This recognition, and the provision made by law for the gradual melioration of their condition, by necessary implication, admit their title to the native and acquired rights of citizenship.

Do our prejudices against their color destroy their rights as citizens? Whence do those prejudices proceed? Are they founded in impartial reason, or in the benevolent principles of our holy religion? Nay, are they indulged in cases where the services of men of color are desirable? Do we not daily see them working side by side with white citizens on our farms, and on our public highways? Is it more derogatory to a white citizen to stand by the side of a citizen of color in the ranks of the militia, than in repairing a highway, or in laboring on a farm? Again, are not people of color permitted to participate in our most solemn religious exercises—to sit down with us at the same table to commemorate the dying love of the Saviour of sinners? This will not be denied by any one who has been in the habit of attending those exercises, and those religious solemnities.

ties. And what is the conclusion to which this fact directs us? Is it not that people of color are our fellow candidates for immortality, and that the same path of future happiness is appointed for them and us—and that in the final judgment the artificial distinction of color will not be regarded? How then can that distinction justify us in taking from them any of the common rights which every other free citizen enjoys?

There is another, and to my mind, an insuperable objection to the exclusion of free citizens of color from the right of suffrage, arising from the provision in the constitution of the United States, "that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." The effect of this provision is, to secure to the citizens of the other states, when they come to reside here, equal privileges and immunities with our native citizens. Suppose, then, that a free citizen of color should remove from the state of Connecticut into this state, could we deny him the right of suffrage when he obtained the legal qualification of an elector? Is not the constitution of the United States paramount to ours on the subject?

It was expected by a considerable portion of the people of this state, that the right of suffrage would be extended, but he had not heard that it was expected or desired (except by some of the citizens of New-York,) that any of the present electors of this state should be disfranchised. He should, therefore, vote for striking out the word white in the amendment before the committee, in order to reserve inviolate the present constitutional rights of the electors.

### JONAS PLATT.

Our republican text is, that all men are born equal, in civil and political rights; and if this freehold proviso be ingrafted into our constitution, the practical commentary will be, that a portion of our free citizens shall not enjoy equal rights with their fellow citizens. All freemen, of African parentage, are to be constitutionally degraded: no matter how virtuous or intelligent. Test the principle, sir, by another example. Suppose the proposition were, to make a discrimination, so as to exclude the descendants of German, or Low Dutch, or Irish ancestors; would not every man be shocked at the horrid injustice of the principle? It is in vain to disguise the fact, we shall violate a sacred principle, without any necessity, if we retain this discrimination. We say to this unfortunate race of men, purchase a freehold estate of \$250 value, and you shall then be equal to the white man, who parades one day in the militia, or performs a day's work on the highway. Sir, it is adding mockery to injustice. We know that, with rare exceptions, they have not the means of purchasing a freehold; and it would be unworthy of this grave convention to do, indirectly, an act of injustice, which we are unwilling openly to avow. The real object is, to exclude the oppressed and degraded sons of Africa; and, in my humble judgment, it would better comport with the dignity of this convention to speak out, and to pronounce the sentence of perpetual degradation on negroes and

their posterity for ever, than to establish a test, which we know they cannot comply with, and which we do not require of others.

But, sir, we owe to that innocent and unfortunate race of men, much more than mere emancipation. We owe to them our patient and persevering exertions, to elevate their condition and character, by means of moral and religious instruction. As a republican statesman, I protest against the principle of inequality contained in this proviso. As a man and a father, who expects justice for himself and his children, in this world; and as a christian, who hopes for mercy in the world to come; I can not, I dare not, consent to this unjust proscription.

#### DAVID BUEL, JUN.

There are, in my judgment, many circumstances which will for ever preserve the people of this state from the vices and degradation of a European population. The provisions made for the establishment of common schools, will in a few years extend the benefit of education to all our citizens. The universal diffusion of information will forever distinguish our population from that of Europe. Virtue and intelligence are the true basis on which every republican government must rest; where these are lost, freedom will no longer exist. The diffusion of education is the only sure means of establishing these pillars of freedom. I feel no apprehension for myself or my posterity, in confining the right of suffrage to the great mass of such a population. The farmers of this country will always out-number all other portions of our population.

And I refer to the general reasoning adopted by the writers of the *Federalist*, to demonstrate the wisdom of the provisions in our national constitution, in regard to the qualifications of electors and elected. Those illustrious statesmen have most satisfactorily shown it to be a prominent feature in the constitution of the United States, and one of its greatest excellencies, that orders and classes of men, would not, and ought not, as such, to be represented; that every citizen, qualified by his talents and virtues, should be eligible to a seat in either branch of the national legislature, without regard to his occupation or class in society. And it was predicted and expected that men of every class and profession, would find their way to the legislature of the union. The framers of the constitution placed their confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the great mass of the American people. It was their triumphant boast to have formed a government without recognizing or creating any odious distinctions, or giving any particular preference to any particular class or order of men.—*Debates in the New-York Convention, 1821.*

#### HEZEKIAH NILES.

It is expressly provided (*Art. iv. Sec. 2.*) by the constitution of the United States, "that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." This is a very simple, plain, and imperative sentence. Free blacks and mulattoes are citizens in all the states, I believe, east of the Delaware, as well as in the states northwest of the river Ohio, and they

cannot be dispossessed of the right to locate themselves where they please.

The constitution of the United States equalizes the privileges of the citizens of the states, without respect to color, or the countries from whence they may be derived. This principle must be maintained. The few free blacks and mulattoes in the United States are not to be considered.—It is the disfranchisement of citizens who are citizens, and cannot be disfranchised. Shall we open the door to what may become the foulest proscriptions?—*Niles Register*, 1820.

Dealing in slaves has become a large business; establishments are made in several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle; these places of deposit are strongly built and well supplied with thumb-screws and gags, and ornamented with cow-skins and other whips often times bloody.—*Vol.* 35.

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### MYRON HOLLEY.

It has become fashionable with many, of late, to degrade the word political into a signification narrow, sordid, grovelling, selfish, and personal. This is because those, who have chiefly controlled political action, have betrayed it to services characterized by these epithets. It should have, and may have, a much higher meaning; and must be practically restored to its best significance, or the memory of our fathers and the hopes of their children will perish.

Principles do not take effect without agency. In this life, men have, at least for a time, power to set them up, and power to cast them down. Under neglect, they become useless. Local interest and personal ambition, often unite to set them aside. Hence the maxim, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. This price we have not paid. We have been devoted to less valuable engagements. The consequence is, our liberties are greatly impaired. The first step, towards their reparation and confirmation, is a thorough survey of the foundation on which they rest. This foundation is composed of the doctrines of '76.—*Rochester Freeman*.

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### JOHN C. SPENCER.

The very insertion of the clause (1st, Art. 1st Sect. 9,) showed that without it the power of Congress would have been complete and unlimited; and the restriction of the power being confined to the states *then existing*, demonstrated that the power of congress over new states was perfect and uncontrolled. He was happy to be able to quote higher authorities for this construction. In the debate in the Pennsylvania Convention, which will be found in 4th Hall's American Law Journal, the venerable Judge Wilson had given a lucid and satisfactory explanation of this clause: he declares that it is intended to restrict the power of Congress over the old states until 1808; that after that period the migration and importation of slaves could be prohibited altogether, and that in the meanwhile no new state would be admitted without prohibiting the introduction of slavery. He states the clause to have been the result of compromise between

the north and the south, and he congratulates his colleagues on having obtained so much. Authority more decided can hardly be expected, especially when it is recollected that it is a contemporaneous exposition of the intention of the framers of the constitution, being made in the year 1787, by one of the most distinguished in that band of illustrious statesmen. In addition to this, we have the testimony of the venerable patriot, John Jay, in a letter lately made public, which is equally explicit. And that exalted statesman (Rufus King,) whom we have lately, with unexampled unanimity, elected to the senate of the United States, has not only given evidence the most clear and decisive to the same point, but has presented a mass of invaluable facts, which show that there could have been no other intention in the minds of the framers of the constitution, than that which has been ascribed to them. If, then, the plain and obvious meaning of the words themselves required the sanction of authority, we have it from men who were actors in the scene, and who were intimately acquainted with men and the events of the day.

Shall it (the south-western territory,) be doomed to the foul stain of slavery, or shall it be the abode of freedom and independence? It was purchased by the common fund of the nation, to which the state of New-York has contributed more than \$100,000,000. Shall we and our children be excluded from its common and equal enjoyment? That this will be the inevitable effect of allowing slavery there, is easily shown.

Those who have had any acquaintance with the slave-holding states, know perfectly well that there exists among them but two classes of society, the very wealthy and respectable, and the poor, servile and degraded; that in them, the most useful portion of our citizens which we call the middle class is unknown; labor being confined to the blacks, shares in the contempt and degradation of those who perform it, and the consequence is that personal labor is despised—the immediate effect is that a white man must either be the owner of slaves, or must become degraded to their level, or below it. Such is the uniform and constant effect in those states where a large portion of the population consists of slaves. If, therefore, slavery be admitted into this portion of the union, it will be a virtual exclusion of the northern emigrant. The state of Illinois and the territory of Missouri, contrasted only by the one rejecting slavery and the other practically admitting it, offered a practical proof of the correctness of these remarks. Would it not then be unjust in Congress to pass any law which, by its operation would exclude the northern inhabitants from the common and equal enjoyment of a property purchased by a common fund?

I go further than the gentleman from Delaware, (Erastus Root,) on this subject. He says that the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in this state constitution, renders slavery unconstitutional. I contend that the first act of our nation, being a solemn recognition of the liberty and equality of all men, and that the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were inalienable, was the corner stone of our confederacy, and is above all constitutions, and all laws.  
—*Speech in New-York Legislature, 1820.*

## CHARLES SIMMONS.

If no more than one in ten of the 1,244,000 slaves who are supposed to be "merchantable" should be crushed annually under the horrid system, and be cut off from no more than ten years upon an average, and if we suppose this time to be worth no more than 25 cents each working day, or 78 dollars a year, it amounts to a pecuniary loss of over \$97,000,000 annually. But it is quite possible that this estimate of one in ten is too low by half; for we can scarcely conceive any thing more crushing to both body and mind, than slavery, with its shocking cruelties.

62,200 recruits, at \$600 each,.....	\$37,320,000
41,466 overseers, cost \$400 each,.....	16,586,400
By 124,400 premature deaths,.....	97,032,000
Other expenses, .....	16,586,400
	<hr/>
	\$167,524,800

The impoverishing, evil tendency and effects of slavery are to be seen in the wide spread bankruptcy, the diminished value of estates, the worn out plantations, the prostration of the currencies, the miserable state of society, and other evils which are now severely experienced in slave states, and others, according to the nature and extent of their governmental and commercial connections with them. It is said the slave states of this union are now indebted to the people of the state of New-York alone, about \$100,000,000—a large majority of which will probably remain forever unpaid. Verily 'the robbery of the wicked shall destroy them.' Should any think the above estimate of the impoverishing tendency and effects of slavery exaggerated, I ask them to read over Mr. Preston's speech, delivered a few years since at Baltimore, on his return from his northern tour, in which he contrasted the state of the north with the south. I ask them to cast an eye to the present contrast between New-York and Virginia—or Ohio and Kentucky.

Thus it appears, that without calculating the congressional expenses occasioned by slavery—its baneful influence upon the morals and manners of the nation—the loss of the time of slaves while in jail, or in recovering from horrid scourgings, and without reckoning the gain on estates by emancipation, we have an annual loss by means of slavery, of over \$167,000,000.—*Annual cost of Slavery.*

## CHARLES RIDLEY

"By his last will and testament, he emancipated all his slaves. The number is variously estimated at, from two hundred and fifty to upwards of four hundred!! It is understood, that all of them, who have attained the age of twenty-eight years, are to be free immediately—such as are over forty-five, to have some provision made for their support, out of his estate. Those of the younger class are to be free, the males at twenty-eight years of age, and the females at twenty-five.

Taking all things into view, we consider it one of the most praise-

worthy deeds that we can recollect, of the kind, in the annals of our country. Gen. Ridgely has long been known as a very influential character in Maryland. For several years, he acted as governor of the state; and few men have taken upon themselves a greater share of the burthen of public business than he has done.

He was often heard to express his uneasiness at the circumstance of keeping so many of his fellow-creatures in unlimited and hereditary bondage; and, we have good grounds to suppose that it was a sense of religious, as well as moral and political duty, that prompted him to the performance of this just, humane, and pious deed."—*G. U. E. Aug. 1829.*

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### JOHN BLACK.

Surely the writer must deserve well of slave-holders, who has endeavored to wipe off their reproach, and reconcile slavery with christianity. But if he has actually succeeded, will not the Bible be the loser? Will not deists triumph? Sensible deists and bible defenders have heretofore agreed on some first principles. That there is such a thing as moral justice—that there is such a thing as virtue, and that there is an eternal and irreconcilable difference between moral right and wrong. That whatever subverts or destroys these principles cannot be a revelation from God. I confess, much as I love the Bible, and if I know my own heart, I love it, my faith in its being the revealed will of God, would be sorely shaken if I believed that it approved of slavery, tyranny, despotism, or the destruction of the rights of man. Certain I am, that in language clear as noon day, it condemns all these.

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### THEODORE SEDGWICK.

I have ever thought the protestations of the southern people against a free discussion of the subject of slavery, as being an improper interference with their "peculiar institutions" as wholly destitute of foundation in law, in the constitution, or in proper practices of a free government. And as I take this right to be unquestionable, and the opposition to it as slavish and odious; in my own person I shall ever defend it, and I will here take the liberty of stating the grounds upon which, in my opinion, the defence ought to be put—a subject which I fear is not thoroughly understood. The constitution is a charter of freedom; the freedom of the press, and of speech, are the great pillars upon which the whole fabric rests. But this is not all. The constitution in providing for its amendment, has by that act alone guarantied the fullest discussion of every principle contained in it—for, how can any thing be amended without being considered, and how can anything be considered without being discussed?

It is not true, that slavery is the "peculiar institution" of the south; it is our institution also, we have allowed it; we have consented that slave property shall be represented; that it shall in part choose our representatives, senators, and president; it is a part of the compact. But it is a part, an article of the constitution that

may be amended ; and it is clear, that every attempt to abolish slavery is virtually an endeavor to amend the constitution. Abolition meetings, therefore, can have no other design than to induce the slave-holding states to consent for our mutual benefit to abolish this part of the compact, and thus ensure emancipation. There are other grounds upon which it is impossible to consider the discussion of American slavery as unconstitutional, or opposed to the principles which bind us together. Slavery in every form is anti-democratic, not, to be sure, according to the creeds or slang of party, but according to those eternal principles, which will survive all party. And I must confess, that I long since hoped, that this question might have been so treated, as to be removed from all party influence, and committed to that great mass of democratic citizens of all parties, in whose hearts the fire of liberty is ever burning, however much their judgments may for a while be confounded by party intrigue, attachments, and appeals. Nor do I believe that abolition doctrines will make any sure progress, till this can be effected—till slavery is considered in its true light, as an old poison left in the veins ; as fostering the worst principles of aristocracy, of pride, and aversion to labor ; as therefore the natural enemy of the poor man, the oppressed man, the laboring man. In this sense, it is not a fanciful question about the equality of the black and white races, never perhaps to be settled to the satisfaction of all, but whether absolute dominion over any creature in the image of a man, be a wholesome power in a free country ; whether this be a school in which to train the young republican mind ; whether slave blood and free blood can course healthily together in the same body politic. With the true lovers of freedom, therefore, of democratic government, of the race of man, rich or poor, high or low, and the sincere haters of oppression, and of every degree of privileged inequality and cruelty, there can be no question about the right to discuss slavery. Whatever may be present appearances, and by whatever names party may choose to call things, this question must finally be settled by the democracy of the country. It is plain to me, therefore, that the subject ought for the present at least to be transferred from congress to the great body of the people, on account of their superior purity, disinterestedness, and reasonableness, great a solecism as that may appear ; and treated with that reason, moderation, and generosity which is due to our southern brethren, in the unhappy predicament in which they are placed ; and in such a way, that the pestilent spirit of party, which in the United States is poisoning the minds of the people, perverting their judgments, and degrading the nation in the eyes of the whole civilized world, may not touch it.

## THOMAS MORRIS.

I rejoice, that the abolition of slavery throughout the civilized world, is no longer problematical ; it seems to be almost universally conceded, that this stupendous fraud upon a portion of the human race is fast drawing to a close, and the great question with us is truly, what measures are best suited to accomplish this desirable end in the United States. In our otherwise free and favored country, slavery seems to have erected its strongest hold, and is not only striving to govern the councils of the country, the press and the pulpit ; but even mind itself is attempted to be made subject to its rules ; and I should almost despair of successful resistance, did I not see embodied in the cause of freedom more moral worth, more talent, more patriotism, more love of country, more devotedness to principles, than is embodied in any other cause in the United States. Yes. I repeat it, the gentlemen who are now, in our own country, engaged in the anti-slavery cause, seem, to me, to possess more moral worth, more talent, more patriotism and love of country, than any other body of men in the United States, not even excepting the public councils of the nation. It is true they are yet in the minority ; but if I am not mistaken, in every age and country of the world in which men have been compelled, by oppression, to strike for freedom, they have been at first but few in number and a persecuted race. But where they have been sincere, making truth and justice their guide, success has universally been the final result of their efforts. With us the slave has no power of action, nor can we consent that his freedom shall be the purchase of his own arm ; a merciful Providence, in order to prevent such dreadful catastrophes in our beloved country, has brought to his rescue, and united for his deliverance, the warmest hearts and soundest heads of the nation ; and they present to the world the new, strange and cheering phenomenon, of men enjoying all the blessings of liberty themselves, yet willing to devote their time, their means, their all, to procure for the oppressed and down-trodden slave, those natural rights to which he is entitled, and which we promised to all men as the chief corner stone of our republican edifice. The moral power of such men is sufficient for this work, but that moral power must operate by means ; and the elective franchise is the great, if not the only means to make it effectual. Political action is necessary to produce moral reformation in a nation ; and that action with us can only be effectually exercised through the ballot box. And surely the ballot-box can never be used for a more noble purpose than to restore and secure to every man his inalienable rights. It seems to me to be almost an impossibility, that a man can be in favor of perpetuating American slavery, and yet be a friend to the principles of our government. If the ballot-box, then, is honestly and independently used, it alone will soon produce the extinguishment of slavery in our country.

## B. FRANKLIN WADE.

He would like to know what clause in the constitution denied to any inhabitant of this state the right to petition. He held the right to be inherent. It belonged to those opposed to the exercise of this right, to show the grounds upon which they based their doctrine; it was a monstrous doctrine to deny to any human being the right to petition. Did they base it upon the ground, that the colored population were not voters? The same objection could be urged against receiving the petition of females. We taxed their property, and subjected them to all the pains and penalties of our laws; how, then, can we deny them the right to petition?

He had early imbibed and believed the doctrine, that the object and end of all good government was to protect the weak against the strong, the virtuous against the vicious; and while he saw one human being oppressed, he would assert the right of that individual to petition for redress. That right, as he had said before, and as others had ably argued, was existent in all countries, in common law, and prior and superior to all written constitutions.

Some have argued that blacks are inferior to the whites: if so, their right to petition and claims to protection were the stronger. He was in favor of the rights of man; and if the granting of an act of incorporation to a few individuals to establish a school for the laudable purpose of elevating the moral and intellectual character of those who were so unfortunate as to differ from us in color, was to favor abolitionism, he should stand obnoxious to that charge. He would point gentlemen to that instrument [Declaration of Independence] hanging on the wall, and say to them, if they will trample its just and holy precepts and principles beneath their feet, tear it down, and efface it from existence, for it was there only as an evidence and a monument of their degradation!—*Speech in the Ohio Senate, 1839.*

## SAMUEL LEWIS.

The proceeds of the public lands have been distributed among the states in such a ratio that a single slave-holder, with a hundred slaves, is entitled to receive as much as sixty-one non-slave-holding freemen. Nor was the slave interest satisfied with even this large concession. In 1836, a surplus of thirty-six millions was ascertained to exist in the national treasury, and congress passed an act for its distribution among the states according to this partial and unjust rule.

In the same year the Florida war commenced. This war had its origin in the aggressions of the whites upon the Indians, in attempts to recapture the slaves, who were alleged to have taken refuge among them. The number of these fugitives was said to be about five hundred. In 1837 an arrangement for peace was concluded, but the war was soon after renewed, because that arrangement did not stipulate for the surrender of the fugitives claimed, many of whom had intermarried with the Indians. New circumstances of atrocity marked the renewal of the war. Bloodhounds were imported from Cuba, as fit auxiliaries of American troops. Osceola, the gallant chief of a

fallen race, was decoyed within the power of an American general, under a flag of truce and then treacherously made prisoner. This war or rather slave hunt, is not yet ended. It has been prosecuted at a cost of forty millions of dollars. The last instalment of the surplus revenue, amounting to nine millions of dollars, yet remains unpaid to the states. These nine millions, and thirty-one millions more have been sunk in the swamps of Florida, for the ignoble and unconstitutional purpose, of reducing five hundred unfortunate persons, claimed as fugitive slaves, to bondage. And whose was the money thus shamefully squandered? Whose was the army thus dishonorably employed? Whose was the flag, renowned on every sea and every shore, disgracefully floating over bloodhounds and men, in common pursuit of miserable negroes and savages? It was the money;—it was the army;—it was the flag of the people of the United States. Thus has the slave power prostituted the energies and resources of the nation to the vilest of purposes, without constitutional authority.—*Address of Ohio Liberty Convention, Dec. 1842.*

### LEICESTER KING.

Who could have predicted that after Washington had declared it to be "among his first wishes, to see some plan adopted by which slavery in the country might be abolished by law," that "it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected, by legislative authority;—" after Jefferson had expressed his hopes of a total emancipation of the slave, in which all the prominent statesmen of the day concurred; after a majority of the states had passed laws in conformity to these sentiments; and while the civilized nations of the earth were uniting to suppress it within their own territorial limits, and to arrest its progress abroad by the most severe penalties known to criminal law; to which this government had also yielded its assent;—that the flag of our country would be prostituted to its protection on the seas, and its power exerted, its treasury exhausted, its policy changed, and the blood of its citizens lavished, in sustaining the system at home.

To the principles embodied in that address, I yield my hearty concurrence. They are those I have long entertained and strenuously advocated, both in public and private life. They are such as were advocated by Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and every statesman during the revolutionary struggle, and the early days of the republic, when self-interest, sectional animosities, and personal aggrandizement, quietly yielded to public virtue and the general good. They stand forth conspicuously in every public document, emanating from the patriots of the revolution, the founders of the republic, the framers of our constitution, and in the writings of public men, until they became blended with party politics, and were found conflicting with the action and policy of the government, and sectional interests, when it was deemed necessary and expedient to proscribe them and their advocates, by representations as unfounded in truth, as cruel and unrighteous in principle, as the measures resorted to to effect the object, have been vindictive, oppressive, lawless, and disgraceful to the American character.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### GENERAL BENNETT.

*Chief of the Mormon city of Nauvoo, Illinois.*

I gave slavery a full and fair investigation years ago—I swore in my youth that my hands should never be bound, my feet fettered, nor my tongue palsied—I am the friend of Liberty, universal liberty, both civil and religious. I ever detested servile bondage. I wish to see the shackles fall from the feet of the oppressed, and the chains of slavery broken. I hate the oppressor's grasp and the tyrant's rod; against them I set my brows like brass, and my face like steel; and my arm is nerved for the conflict.

Great God! has it come to this,—that the free citizens of the sovereign state of Illinois, can be taken and immured within the walls of a Missouri penitentiary for twelve long years, for such a crime as God would regard as a virtue? Simply for pointing bondmen to a state of liberty and law!

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### WILLIAM DUNLAP.

Negro slavery, the curse of a portion of the United States of America, is a subject that cannot be passed over in silence by any historian of New-York; particularly when we reflect that its abolition has been one, and not the least efficient of the causes of the prosperity and greatness of the empire state.

In 1562, Sir John Hawkins, with the aid of Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, and Sir William Winter, fixed the stigma upon England, of introducing the slave trade, as a branch of commerce at this early period, among the inhabitants of that trading country. This trade in the blood, lives, and liberties of human beings, was then, and has since been excused, and attempted to be justified, by stating that the negroes were benefitted by being kidnapped, chained, confined in floating prisons, of the most loathsome description, murdered if resisting, subjected to disease and death, to the cool mercantile calculation of the number per hundred to be thrown over-board, and to endless labor and stripes, on their arrival in America, inasmuch as the survivors were transported to a land where they would become civilized, and taught the lessons of christianity.

Such arguments reconciled princes and nations, to this most inhuman of all the practices which have disgraced civilized man. Such was the theory. In practice the negro was treated as a brute, and by law prohibited from being taught either in a school, or the church.

That guilt which the state of slavery engenders, is chargeable to the master of the slave. To possess unlimited power over a human being, makes the possessor a tyrant; he is corrupted by its influence, while the subject of his power is debased. The tyrant may be merciful and kind, and the slave may be grateful. It has been so in empires and in families: but when so, it is from causes adverse to tyranny and slavery; their influence is ever the same.

The slave only works from the fear of punishment, and neglects his labor as much as possible. When he refrains from exertion, he

only resumes a portion of that which has been forced from him. Every traveller who passes from a state where labor is performed by freemen, for their own profit, into a state where it is performed by slaves, will at once be struck by the contrast on the face of every thing produced by labor. Another evil is, that employing slaves to work, makes labor disreputable. The white man prides himself upon his idleness.—*History of New-York.*

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### HORACE GREELY.

The supreme court of the United States has just pronounced the most important decision which has proceeded from its bench for many years—perhaps ever. In a case arising between Maryland and Pennsylvania, it has declared that the right of a slave-holder to capture, secure and return his fugitive slave, under the well known clause of the federal constitution, is absolute and illimitable—that the free states have no discretion as to its exercise, no protection against its abuse. All laws securing to the citizen of a free state claimed as a slave a trial by jury, all free state legislation designed to prevent abuses of the slave-holder's constitutional right of reclamation, are hereby declared null and void, and the trial by jury law of this state, as well as that of Pennsylvania, is henceforth a dead letter. This judgment was pronounced by Justice Story of Massachusetts, and concurred in by all the judges except John M'Lean of Ohio. Two or three of the justices read separate opinions, varying somewhat the grounds of the decision, but concurring, as we understand, in all the conclusions above recited.

This tremendous decision brings the great question of freedom or slavery home to all our doors. There is not a man in the free states who is not affected by it—whose personal liberty is not invaded and endangered by it. The constitution knows no distinction of white, black and intermediate colored persons; it says nothing expressly of slaves; it speaks only of 'persons held to labor or service in one state escaping into another.' Now if a negro may be apprehended in this city and carried by mere force to Virginia, to some one who claims him as an escaped slave or servant, then any of us—then Gov. Seward, Justice Thompson, or Justice Story, may be so taken. Where is the safeguard against abuse? Where the protection to freemen? The N. Y. State law of 1840, extending the right of trial by jury to persons claimed as 'fugitives from labor or service,' afforded such protection. By that law a slave-holder was required to prove his property in a man or woman claimed by him, as much as in a horse or monkey. Even before the passage of that law, a slave-holder was always required to verify his legal right before a justice of the peace, who approved it or set the arrested person at liberty.—*The Tribune, March 12, 1842.*

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

The Pennsylvania case, lately decided by the supreme court of the United States, has excited very justly, the alarm and animadversion of every legal mind. Once give the power to a man to seize a fellow-man, and bind him into slavery without responsibility anywhere, and the government of the United States turns the community into one of kidnappers and robbers. A man appears in New-York, seizes a man and carries him into Maryland, and sells him as a slave or murders him. This man is indicted and apprehended if he can be found ; if not, there is an end to the matter. The law might be applied to Justice Story himself, in his proper person, under the idea that he was a person held to labor or service in another state, under the constitution itself and had escaped therefrom.

If nothing more could have been done in the late Pennsylvania case, when before the supreme court of the United States, the judges of that court, belonging to the free states, ought to have solemnly protested against such a decision, for their own personal safety.

The very idea of an irresponsible man, without morals, character, house, home or location, habitation or name, coming into the state of New-York, and making an affidavit that any person is held to service or labor in another state, be he white, black, or red ; and on such an affidavit, reeking as it may be with falsehood, perjury, and every abomination, and on such a proceeding as this, or upon no proceeding at all—that a citizen of this state may be seized, kidnapped, and hurried away from his wife, children, and family, into a distant country, there to be consigned to slavery, or murdered at the tender mercies of their conspirators, strikes the mind with horror, and it cries out with feelings of indignation, that this is the offspring of sin and death. A law of such a character as this, is the law of barbarians. It is not the law of a people who have declared to the world, that all mankind have certain inalienable rights, amongst which are the rights of liberty, security and happiness. There is no security in such laws as these, of happiness, or liberty under them. Supposing a white man is carried away under this law of seizure, without a trial by jury ? it is true that in most of the slave-holding states his color is *prima facie*, a declaration that he is free ; but suppose he is unfortunately tinged with the Indian, New South Wales or Negro blood, he is declared by his color to be *prima facie* a slave, and must prove his freedom, while he is locked up in prison. He is first deprived of liberty unjustly, and then prevented by the same law from proving his liberty, because a slave cannot appear in a court of justice ; being treated not as a person, but as a dead chattel. The system of selling men for prison fees, is one that deserves the detestation of all righteous men. First, commit the greatest outrage upon a man that can be, without murdering and maiming him, lock him up in prison, prevent him from proving his freedom, and then sell him because he has no proof of his freedom—we have grounds to fear that some persons have been seized north of Mason and Dixon's line, and then carried south of it and treated in this manner by some gambling, disappointed, unprincipled negro-catcher, merely to make a

raise of a small sum of money, to squander in dissipation upon the sale of his victim. There is no other way than to try the question by a jury, in the first instance, when the man is seized, and the questions to be tried are: 1st. Is the man complained of, the same individual he is charged to be? 2d. Is he a person that owes labor or service in another state, under the laws thereof, and escaped therefrom? This provision in the act of congress applies to all persons white, black and red, and wherever the right of trial by jury is secured to one color of persons in the state, it is to all others.—*New-York Evening Post*, May, 1842.

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### CHARLES KING.

It must be obvious to the most careless observer, that the horror which used to thrill through all sound hearts at the bare mention of disunion can no longer be excited. We have heard so much and so often from the south—upon the slightest occasion—of threats of separation, of calculating the value of the union, and of the south's ability to exist by herself and for herself—that the north has been forced, as it were, to reflect upon what would be the issue of such a breaking up of our republic; and, sooth to say, reflection has brought the conviction to very, very many minds, that if calculation of sectional pride and power must determine this great political and social problem—the north—the free states—the horticultural, manufacturing and commercial states, would gain power, wealth, and importance by cutting loose from the weaker and dependent south, now admitted to an equality with them.

This conviction of reason, moreover, is, in some ardent minds, exasperated almost into a passionate desire, by the insolence and intolerance of the slave representatives in congress.

It is to feelings of this sort that we are to ascribe in part the petition presented by Mr. Adams, which has occasioned the violent debate in the house, asking for a dissolution of the union, rather than longer submission to unequal, oppressive, overbearing legislation, dictated by southern interest, and carried by the cohesion of the common bond of slavery.

And what was thus formally embodied by these petitioners, is floating loosely and largely among the elements that go to make up public opinion in the north. Repulsed at first because of the loyalty to the union, which enters into the education and hopes, as it were, of every northern man—it comes again and again, at such successive manifestations of southern intolerance, to force an entrance, and at each attempt finds resistance more and more feeble.—*N. Y. American*.

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### JOHN NEAL.

I am opposed to the annexation of Texas or any other state or territory in which slavery exists, to the United States; believing slavery to be one of the greatest afflictions that a people, or any portion of a people, can labor under.

I myself am not an abolitionist, in the common meaning of the

term—in other words, I am not a friend to immediate, universal, and unconditional emancipation ; but that, like the great majority of those with whom I associate, or correspond, either at home or abroad, either in New-England or at the south, I recognize the existence of slavery as a curse—a curse at all times, and under all circumstances: that in common with multitudes of our generous brethren at the south, I find such to have been the settled opinion of our country at the forming of our constitution: that I see no reason for abandoning that opinion, and as little for adopting that which has lately been promulgated at the south—namely—that slavery there is a blessing; and that, therefore, I am so far an abolitionist as to hope for the final emancipation of every human being—and I will even add the sooner the better: provided that emancipation be effected legally, peaceably, and with the consent of all parties interested. This, I believe, may be had in time; and had even from the slave-holders of the south.

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### OHIO WESTERN RESERVE A. S. CONVENTION.

Slavery existed in this country prior to the revolution: and when our fathers had achieved our national independence, they had yet to lament over the galling servitude in which a large portion of the inhabitants were held. They looked upon this state of things with the deepest regret, and uniformly spoke of it in tones of unmingled condemnation and shame. They counted with certainty the speedy abolition of slavery throughout the states, and under this expectation carefully refused to recognise the fact of its existence in the constitution of the country. The revolution was essentially a strife for principle, and it produced in the American mind a most magnanimous and elevated sense of the value of liberty, of the importance of man as man, and of the sacredness of those rights of which by virtue of his manhood he is endowed. But, wherever advantage was not taken of this favorable state of things to strike a death-blow to slavery, slavery in its turn produced its legitimate effect by extinguishing this sense of the right and of the priceless value of freedom. Three generations of her doomed and suffering victims have passed away, and slavery has extended its baleful empire over thirteen states, containing a territory exclusive of Texas.

Throughout all this vast region, once a free soil, slavery is now the one and paramount law. Here, like a demon, the genius of slavery sits enthroned with the cup of her abominations in her hand, slaying her hetacombs of victims and martyrs, dealing death and torture to all who are suspected, even in thought, of questioning her divine sovereignty. And not content with a dominion over one-half of the republic, so absolute as to set at defiance constitution and law, while she daily violates the sacred right of citizenship in the persons of all upon whom she can lay her bloody hands, unless they acknowledge her paramount right; not content with the abject homage paid her as promptly as exacted by the citizens of the north, her creatures now, notwithstanding the words of the grant giving congress legislative power 'in all cases whatsoever,' boldly deny the authority of the nation to do away slavery in territories under the national control.

## WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

I could not, to save the commerce of the state, or even the peace of the country, subscribe to the faith prescribed to me ; I cannot believe that a being of human substance, form and image,—endowed with the faculties, propensities and passions common to our race, and having the same ultimate destiny, can, by the force of any human constitution or laws, be converted into a chattel or a thing, in his free will, and of the power of cultivating his own mind and pursuing his own happiness ; a property beginning with his birth, and reaching over and enslaving his posterity. I cannot believe that that can be stolen which is not and cannot be property ; and although such principles may be adopted, and become the basis of institutions and laws in other countries, I cannot believe that any such community has the right to extend the operation of such institutions and laws so as to affect persons within the jurisdiction and under the protection of other nations. The provision in the Constitution of the United States, directing that fugitives from labor or service, escaping from one state into another, shall be given up on demand to the person to whom such labor or service is due, whatever be its effect, is a limitation of the sovereign rights of the states. I cannot believe that the provision can be extended beyond its letter and precise application, and so as to make the constitution fix a definition of crime at variance with the common law adopted by all the states, and with the jurisprudence of the civilized world. Opposed to such a faith, I find the guarded language of the constitution, the principles of natural justice, the impulses of philanthropy, the instructions of religion, the sentiments of an enlightened age, the constitution of this state, which I am bound to maintain, and the spirit of the laws it is my duty to execute.

The august congress of statesmen who laid the foundation of the constitution, most emphatically declared that all men are born free and equal and have inalienable rights, inconsistent with every form of slavery. A citizen of Virginia, who was not only the most renowned of the patriots who engaged in the establishment of the constitution, but who is, by the general consent of mankind, acknowledged to have exhibited the most perfect character our nature has ever reached, manumitted all his slaves as an act of conscientious duty. Another, who was second only to Washington in the great number of statesmen that Virginia has given to our country, pleaded the prejudices of birth, education and association as an apology for the opinions entertained by his fellow-citizens, that human beings may be the subjects of property, as much as their horses and cattle. When I recall these circumstances, I must be allowed to indulge a belief that I have not fallen from the faith of the founders of the constitution.

Of what use to the citizens of New-York is the Virginia slave ? The moment the vessel reaches the open sea, he is no longer a slave. The law of nations throws its protecting arm around him, and will vindicate any injury to his person, or abridgment of his liberty.

The legislature will decide whether the trial by jury shall be relin-

quished ; and whether a state which acknowledges no natural inequality of men, and no political inequality, which may not ultimately be removed, shall wrest that precious shield from those only whose freedom is assailed, not from any wrong doing of their own, but because the greatest of all crimes was committed against their ancestors. Taught as we have been by the founders of the constitution, and most emphatically by the statesmen of Virginia, we cannot renounce the principle that all men are born free and equal, nor any of its legitimate consequences.

I cannot believe that a being of human substance, form and image, —endowed with the faculties, propensities, and passions, common to our race, and having the same ultimate destiny, can, by the force of any human constitutions or laws, be converted into a chattle or a thing, in which another human being like himself can have property, depriving him of his free will, and of the power of cultivating his own mind, and pursuing his own happiness ; a property beginning with his birth, and reaching over and enslaving his posterity. I cannot believe that that can be stolen, which is not, and cannot be, property.

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### LUTHER BRADISH.

I am, in favor of abolishing all distinctions in the constitutional rights of the citizens of this state, founded solely on complexion. The state of New-York, by its repeated legislative acts, has already pronounced her judgment, and declared her own policy, on the subject of slavery. Within her own borders, she has already proclaimed universal emancipation ; and has ranged herself among the free States.

I would abide by the compromises of the constitution. But I would not extend them. If something be due to others, much is also due to ourselves, to our own principles, and our own institutions. So utterly am I opposed to slavery in all its forms, so great an evil, both moral and political, do I consider its existence in our country, that I would not, beyond the clear requirements of the federal constitution, either directly or indirectly, nearly or remotely, lend to it the sanction of our state legislation. Nor can I view the existence of this great moral and political evil, as is sometimes pretended, as the exclusive affair of the states where it exists. It touches too vitally the national interests and national character, not to be a subject of deep and legitimate interest to every citizen who loves his country and its honor. But while I would leave to the states where this evil exists the exclusive duty, as it is their exclusive right, to act in this matter, I would reserve to all, and beyond a peradventure or a doubt, the right of its free discussion. And although in the " consummation most devoutly to be wished," I rely under a controlling Providence, mainly upon the ultimate just views, generous impulses, and high moral sentiment of the slave-holder himself, yet to induce him to early action, I would not cease to address to him, as brother to brother, every consideration that a burning patriotism could sug-

gest, every inducement that an enlightened philanthropy could inspire, every argument and sanction that an elevated morality and holy religion could supply.

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JABEZ D. HAMMOND.

Oct. 24, 1814. A law, also was passed for raising two regiments of colored men for three years, among whom slaves might be enlisted by consent of their masters, who were to be manumitted on being honorably discharged. Thus it seems that that unfortunate class of men were not deemed unworthy of shedding their blood, in defence of a country, and a people which had degraded and oppressed them. Could it have been anticipated that Col. Young, who ably and zealously advocated this bill, would have been found in the convention of 1821, supporting and probably by his influence, procuring to be inserted in the amended constitution a clause which was intended forever, there to degrade this trodden-down race of men, to whose aid he now, in this time of imminent peril, resorted!—*History of Political Parties of N. Y.*

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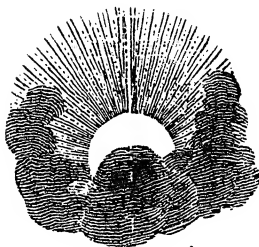
WILLIAM GOODELL.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS GOVERNED BY SLAVERY.—In the very organization of that government the slave power exerted a moulding influence. It secured to itself the preponderancy, which it has ever since maintained, in the apportionment of representatives in Congress. By this means, the slave states send, at present, one hundred representatives, though their white population entitles them to only seventy-five. They have twenty-six senators in congress, when the principle of equal representation would give them but thirteen. They have one hundred and twenty-six electoral votes for president, when they would have but eighty-eight were they placed on an equal and just footing with the free states. This power is the secret of northern sycophancy to the south.

The exercise of the slave power over the nation, through the general government and for its own purposes is seen the following particulars. 1. On every disputed question, either of political economy, or in reference to the supposed interests of the slave states, the constant and commonly successful argument urged in and out of congress for the last forty years has been the threat of dissolving the union. 2. In giving shape to our naturalization, militia, and post office laws, and in the government of the federal district, no effort has been spared to degrade the free people of color. 3. 'The vast domain acquired by the purchase of Louisiana, has, under authority of congress, been stocked with slaves, except so much of it as is north of 38 1-2 degrees of north latitude.' Seven new slave states have been added to the union. 4. In the District of Columbia, slavery has been established by laws of congress, believed to be unconstitutional, and aggravated by additional enactments from time to time, and peculiar facilities have been given for rendering the district what it is, the

grand centre of the domestic slave trade between the states. Laws have also been made by which freemen, suspected of being fugitives from slavery, are seized and sold in the District of Columbia as slaves, unless they can prove their freedom while incarcerated in a dungeon, and this too by the judgment of a tribunal directly interested in their condemnation and sale. 5. The federal government has negotiated with Great Britain and Mexico, for the surrender of fugitive slaves. 6. Florida, while a Spanish Province, was invaded, by authority of the federal government, in time of peace, for the purpose of destroying a fort of fugitive slaves. 7. Compensation for fugitive slaves who had taken refuge on board of British ships of war has been obtained by the federal government from Great Britain. 8. Efforts have been made by our government to recover slaves shipwrecked on Bermuda and elsewhere. 9. The American slave trade, coast-wise and over land, is prosecuted under special protection of the general government. *Some of these slaves are entirely white!* 10. The federal government, in its intercourse with Great Britain has manifested a settled and persevering duplicity, in regard to the suppression of the African slave trade—totally evading and declining all propositions for assisting in its efficient suppression. 11. It has winked at the illegal importation of African slaves. 12. It has covertly aided the colonization society, (managed by slave-holders) in its work of ridding the slave states from the troublesome presence of free people of color. 13. It has made efforts to prevent the abolition of slavery in the Island of Cuba, and even intimated its readiness to engage in a war to prevent it! 14. It has manifested a marked hostility to the government of Hayti, refusing to acknowledge its independence, though the measure was manifestly required by the commercial interests of the country,—and it has exerted its influence at the Congress of Panama, to prevent the South American Republics from recognizing Hayti as a new state. 15. It has successfully managed to bring about a recognition of Texas, under circumstances calculated to plunge the country in a Mexican war. 16. It has put forth persevering and varied efforts to effect the annexation of Texas to the United States. 17. Florida has been purchased because it was a refuge for fugitives. 18. The Seminole war has been waged and prosecuted for the same reason.

INFERENCES.—1. That the slave power in congress is the predominating and ascendant power. 2. That its power is vigilantly and successfully exercised in the support of the slave system. 3. That in the prosecution of this work, it holds all the other interests of the country to be of minor importance. 4. That this work is carried on with little or no remonstrance or opposition on the part of the representatives and senators of the non-slave-holding states. And, of course, 5. That the liberties as well as the interests of northern freemen, so far as the action of the general government is concerned, are at the mercy of a slave power, which always holds its own interests paramount to all others.—*Anti-Slavery Lecturer.*




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LEWIS C. GUNN.

No scheme of colonization, either to Africa, to Hayti, or to any distant place in our own country, is called for, or expedient; but, on the contrary, it would be absolutely injurious to the south, in withdrawing her laborers—to the slaves, in removing them from the influence of civilized, enlightened, and pious men—and to the slaveholders, in leading them to believe “there is a lion in the way.” We, therefore, oppose every such scheme, and every thing that recognizes, even indirectly, either the danger or inexpediency of the full and immediate emancipation of every bondman. Not a day, not an hour longer would we see the image of God defaced, and hear the cries of the wronged. We would see every man, from this time forward, walking forth, not as a slave, with fear and trembling, but erect as he was made, with his face heavenward, and his countenance beaming forth the happiness of freedom, and reminding us of Him, in whose image, it is said, man was created.

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WILLIAM L. GARRISON.

If at any time he had exceeded the bounds of moderation, the monstrous turpitude of the times had transported him. Nor did he transcend the example of Christ, who, when he had to deal with people of like manners, called them sharply by their proper names—such as, an adulterous and perverse generation—a brood of vipers—hypocrites—children of the devil, who could not escape the damnation of hell. The crime of slave-holding is so atrocious, so contrary to every principle of humanity and every law of justice, so terrible in its results, and so impious in its claims, that no language can properly describe it. An able reviewer has forcibly said, “it excites ideas of abhorrence beyond our capacity of expression, and must be subject of mute astonishment and speechless horror.”

The old syren song is gradualism! Prepare men to receive, at some distant day, that which is theirs by birthright! Prepare husbands to live with their wives, and wives to be indissolubly allied to

their husbands! Prepare parents to cherish their own children! Prepare the laborer to receive a just recompense for his toil! What sort of honesty or humanity is this? "Set free"—from what? Not, surely, from the restraints of law, or the obligations of society; but from irresponsible power, usurped dominion, tyrannical authority.

A heathen could exclaim, "let justice be done though the heavens fall." Shall an American patriot do less? Whatever is contrary to humanity should be destroyed. There cannot be union where there is not equity, nor equity where there is oppression. To talk of preferring a human compact above all the requirements of Heaven, is infatuation. Is it possible, that, by ceasing to shed innocent blood, we shall take away the cement of our National Union? Dare any man, professing to believe in Christianity, say that there can be any object so dear as to justify cruelty, robbery, licentiousness and soul murder? The thought is blasphemy! But no such alternative is presented to us; and if it were, none but practical atheists would hesitate to exclaim—"Honesty before policy! Justice before expediency! Innocency before union!"

What is the sentence which Great Britain has passed upon the colonization society? It is one of utter condemnation? What is the language of such men as Lord Suffield, and Zachary Macaulay, and Fowell Buxton, and James Cropper, and William Allen, and Daniel O'Connell, and last but not first of all, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE?—Hear it!—"We feel bound to affirm, that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society, of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say, that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction.—While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its real effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free.—That society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public."

Slaveholders and their northern abettors have affected to sneer at the labors of women in the anti-slavery enterprise, but they really trembled in view of these labors. For what good cause had ever been heartily espoused by women, that has not ultimately triumphed over all opposition? The emancipation of eight hundred thousand slaves in the West Indies is mainly owing, under God, to the quenchless devotion, and tireless zeal, and indomitable perseverance of the women of England. The slave system in this country will find in the women of America most formidable antagonists.—*Speech in Pennsylvania Hall.*

Would to God this (July 4th,) were truly—what it is not, though lying lips declare it to be—the JUBILEE OF FREEDOM! That jubilee cannot come, so long as one slave is left to grind in his prison-house. It will come only when liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. O the 'fantastie tricks' which the American people are this day 'playing before high heaven'! O their awful desecration of an anniversary, which should be sacred to justice, equality, and brotherly love! O their profane use of the sacred

name of Liberty! O their impious appeals to the God of the oppressed, for his divine benediction, while they are making merchandise of his image! Do they not blush? Nay, they glory in their shame! Once a year they take special pains to exhibit themselves to the world, in all their republican deformity and christian barbarity, insanely supposing that they thus excite the envy, admiration and applause of mankind. The nations are looking at the dreadful spectacle with disgust and amazement. However sunken and degraded they may be, they are too elevated, too virtuous, too humane, to be guilty of such conduct. Their voice is heard, saying,—‘Americans! we hear your boasts of liberty—your shouts of independence—your declarations of eternal hostility to every form of tyranny—your assertions that all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty—the merry peal of your bells, and the deafening roar of artillery; but, mingling with all these, and rising above them all, we also hear the clanking of chains! the shrieks and wailings of millions of your own countrymen, whom you wickedly hold in a state of slavery as much more frightful than the oppression which your fathers resisted unto blood, as the tortures of the inquisition surpass the stings of an insect! We see your banner floating proudly in the breeze from every flag-staff and mast-head in the land; but its blood-red stripes are emblematical of your own slave-driving cruelty, as you apply the lash to the flesh of your guiltless victim, even the flesh of a wife and mother, shrieking for the restoration of the babe of her bosom, sold to the remorseless slave-speculator! We catch the gleam of your illuminated hills, every where blazing with bonfires; we mark your gay processions; we note the number of your orators; we listen to the recital of your revolutionary achievements; we see you kneeling at the shrine of Freedom, as her best, her truest, her sincerest worshippers! Hypocrites! liars! adulterers! tyrants! men-stealers! atheists! Professing to believe in the natural equality of the human race,—yet dooming a sixth portion of your immense population to beastly servitude and ranking them among your goods and chattles! Professing to believe in the existence of a God,—yet trading in his image, and selling those in the shambles, for whose redemption the Son of God laid down his life! Professing to be Christians,—yet withholding the Bible, the means of religious instruction, even the knowledge of the alphabet, from a benighted multitude, under terrible penalties! Boasting of your democracy,—yet determining the rights of men by the texture of their hair, and the color of their skin! Assuming to be ‘the land of the free and the home of the brave,’—yet keeping in chains more slaves than any other nation, not excepting slave-cursed Brazil! Prating of your morality and honesty,—yet denying the rites of marriage to twenty-five hundred thousand human beings, and plundering them of all their hard earnings! Affecting to be horror-struck in view of the foreign slave-trade,—yet eagerly pursuing a domestic traffic equally cruel and unnatural, and reducing to slavery not less than seventy thousand new victims annually! Vaunting of your freedom of speech and of the press—your matchless constitution and your glorious union,—yet denouncing as traitors, and treating as outlaws, those who have

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the courage and fidelity to plead for immediate, untrammelled, universal emancipation! Monsters that ye are! how can ye expect to escape the scorn of the world, and the wrath of heaven? Emancipate your slaves, if you would redeem your tarnished character,—if you would obtain forgiveness here, and salvation hereafter! Until you do so, 'there will be a stain upon your national escutcheon, which all the waters of the Atlantic cannot wash out!'

We are accused of using hard language. I admit the charge. I, for one, say in extenuation, that I have not been able to find a soft word in the English tongue to describe villainy, or identify the perpetrator of it. The man who makes a chattel of his brother—what is he? The man who keeps back the hire of his laborers by fraud—what is he? They who prohibit the circulation of the Bible—what are they? They who compel two millions of men and women to herd together, in promiscuous intercourse, like brute beasts—what are they? They who sell mothers by the pound, and children in lots to suit purchasers—what are they? I care not what terms are applied to them, provided they *do* apply. If they are not thieves, if they are not adulterers, if they are not tyrants, if they are not men-stealers, I should like to know what is their true character, and by what names they may be called.

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### A. S. CONVENTION OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

*Address, Philadelphia, May 17, 1838.*

By the constitution of the United States, the whole physical power of the north is pledged for the suppression of domestic insurrections, and should the slaves, maddened by oppression, endeavor to shake off the yoke of the task-master, the men of the north are bound to make common cause with the tyrant, and put down, at the point of the bayonet, every effort on the part of the slave for the attainment of his freedom. And when the father, husband, son, and brother shall have left their homes to mingle in the unholy warfare, "to become the executioners of their brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands," will the mother, wife, daughter, and sister feel that they have no interest in this subject? Will it be easy to convince them that it is no concern of theirs, that their homes are rendered desolate, and their habitations the abodes of wretchedness? Surely this consideration is of itself sufficient to arouse the slumbering energies of woman, for the overthrow of a system which thus threatens to lay in ruins the fabric of her domestic happiness; and she will not be deterred from the performance of her duty to herself, her family, and her country, by the cry of "political question."

But admitting it to be a political question, have we no interest in the welfare of our country? May we not permit a thought to stray beyond the narrow limits of our own family circle, and of the present hour? May we not breathe a sigh over the miseries of our countrymen, nor utter a word of remonstrance against the unjust laws that are crushing them to the earth? Must we witness "the headlong rage or headless folly," with which our nation is rushing onward to destruction, and not seek to arrest its downward course?

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

Shall we silently behold the land which we love with all the heart-warm affection of children, rendered a hissing and a reproach throughout the world, by this system which is already "tolling the death-bell of her decease among the nations?" No; the events of the last two years have "cast their dark shadows before," over-clouding the bright prospects of the future, and shrouding the destinies of our country in more than midnight gloom, and we cannot remain inactive. Our country is as dear to us as to the proudest statesman, and the more closely our hearts cling to "our altars and our homes," the more fervent are our aspirations that every inhabitant of our land may be protected in his fireside enjoyments by just and equal laws; that the foot of the tyrant may no longer invade the domestic sanctuary, nor his hand tear asunder those whom God himself has united by the most holy ties. Let our course, then, still be *onward*! Justice, humanity, patriotism, every high and every holy motive urge us forward, and we dare not refuse to obey."

MARY S. PARKER.

MARIA W. CHAPMAN,

CATHARINE M. SULLIVAN,

SUSAN PAUL, and others.

### ABBY KELLEY.

Offered the following resolution, which was adopted;

Whereas, a vast portion of the wealth of the north has accrued, and is still accruing, from the slave system, either directly in the holding of slaves, by northern citizens, or indirectly by our social and commercial intercourse with slave-holding communities; therefore,

*Resolved*, That we are very deeply implicated in the sin of using our brother's service without wages, and of holding in our hands the gains of oppression; consequently it is our duty to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by laboring devotedly in the service of the spoiled, and by contributing with unsparing liberality to the treasury of the slave.

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### BOSTON FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

We call on you in the prevailing name of our common christianity, and by the power of freedom upon your own souls, to resolve the deliverance of the captive, and to labor immediately for its fulfilment. Gather yourselves together as societies or as individuals, we entreat you; and increase by combination every power you possess, for the service of freedom. Where two or three, even, are gathered together with this holy purpose, there is his spirit in the midst of them who came to proclaim deliverance. Let us hear your voices of encouragement from the utmost limits of Massachusetts; and depend on us to cheer and encourage your hopes of speedy emancipation for the American slave, if the sight of earnest and devoted labor on our part can produce that effect.

THANKFUL SOUTHWICK, *Pres.*

ANNE WARREN WESTON, *Sec. pro. tem.*

LUCRETIA MOTT.

The support of the iniquitous system of slavery at the south, is dependent on the co-operation of the north, by commerce and manufactures, as well as by the consumption of its products ;—therefore despising the gain of oppression, we reccommend to our friends, by a candid and prayerful examination of the subject, to ascertain if it be not a duty to cleanse our hands from this unrighteous participation, by no longer indulging in the luxuries which come through this polluted channel ; and in the supply of the necessary articles of food and clothing, &c. that we ‘ provide things honest in the sight of all men,’ by giving the preference to goods which come through required labor.

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MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

The memory of a gracious deed,  
 Of justice, or of love,  
 How many a swelling heart shall heed,  
 Of differing nation, name and creed !  
 How many a soul approve !  
 Come, sire ! come, mother ! bring your gift  
 To aid the suffering slave !  
 Let wife and husband's generous thrift  
 Unite his bleeding form to lift,  
 And from oppression save.  
 Come, little children, kneeling by !  
 Devote what God hath given !  
 And raise your little hands on high,  
 Till freedom hath the victory,  
 And earth becomes like heaven.  
 Nor time nor space absorbs the rays ;  
 The radiance onward streams :  
 The kindly deed of present days,  
 Though centuries interpose their haze,  
 O'er all the future gleams.

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We are not of those who dread moral influences from other lands. We feel that all nations, as sharers of a common nature, should be united in every good purpose, and that the country of La Fayette is not entirely foreign to Americans. We observe with intense interest, the progress of other countries towards emancipation, for when our own shall have the painful distinction of being the only slave-holding nation of Christendom, the success of our endeavors to throw off the curse of slavery cannot be far distant.

We deem there is nothing unfeminine in aiding our husbands, brothers, and sons, to support the principles they have adopted, especially while the cause lacks numerical strength. But every day adds to the number of its supporters. The moral strength of th

country is arousing from slumber, and God defend the right!—*Letter to the Dutchesse De Broglie.*

She was for some years most intensely interested in the plans which the philanthropists in France were attempting to carry into operation, for the diminution of the horrors of slavery in the French islands; and still more, for the removal of slavery itself from those portions of the French possessions. Nor were her labors, and those of her distinguished husband's in vain. A decided impression has been made on the public mind in France, and the day cannot be far distant when the abolition of slavery, either gradual or immediate, will take place in the French islands.—*Robert Baird.*

### FRANCIS JACKSON.

If a large majority of this community choose to turn a deaf ear to the wrongs, which are inflicted upon their countrymen in other portions of the land—if they are content to turn away from the sight of oppression, and “pass by on the other side”—so it must be. But when they undertake in any way to impair or annul my right to speak, write, and publish upon any subject, and more especially upon enormities, which are the common concern of every lover of his country and his kind—so it must not be—so it shall not be, if I for one can prevent. Upon this great right let us hold on at all hazards. And should we, in its exercise, be driven from public halls to private dwellings, one house at least shall be consecrated to its preservation. And if, in defence of this sacred privilege, which man did not give me, and shall not (if I can help it) take from me, this roof and these walls shall be levelled to the earth, let them fall if they must; they cannot crumble in a better cause. They will appear of very little value to me, after their owner shall have been whipt into silence.

Mobs and gag laws, and the other contrivances by which fraud or force would stifle inquiry, will not long work well in this community. They betray the essential rottenness of the cause, they are meant to strengthen. These outrages are doing their work with the reflecting. Happily, one point seems already to be gaining universal assent, that slavery cannot long survive free discussion. Hence the efforts of the friends and apologists of slavery to break down this right. And hence the immense stake, which the enemies of slavery hold, in behalf of freedom and mankind, in its preservation. The contest is therefore substantially between liberty and slavery.

As slavery cannot exist with free discussion—so neither can liberty breathe without it. Losing this, we, too, shall not be freemen indeed, but little, if at all, superior to the millions we now seek to emancipate.

### FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION OF HENRY COUNTY, IOWA.

As women of free republican America, we believe the freedom of speech and the right of petition are as sacredly guaranteed to us by our government; and that liberty in this way to exert a moral influence is, by the same authority and the concurrent voice of nature and reason, emphatically proclaimed to be our birth-right; and that

is intelligent and accountable beings, it is our duty thus to act, especially in regard to subjects of vital importance to the welfare of our country.

The Globe contains the remarks of Mr. Rayner, a representative from N. Carolina, in which women are represented as the worst and most dangerous part of creation. But it seems he could not call to mind any of the noble and virtuous deeds of those of our sex in olden time—no recollection of Miriam, one of the associate leaders of ancient Israel; nor of Deborah the prophetess, who judged that nation and delivered it from its enemies. His memory has failed him in regard to the important services rendered to the captive Jews by Esther the Queen, in delivering them from their enemies, through her intercessions with Ahasuerus the King, and also in regard to the remarkable manner in which Rome was once saved by female virtue. By the instigation of Valeria, sister of the famous Valerius Publicola, the women joining their efforts wrought upon the feelings and sensibilities of Rome's inveterate enemy, (just as we desire to do by our petitions on those of the negroes' enemies,) and ultimately effected that which all Rome's ministers of religion failed to accomplish.

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We forbear a further exposure of the numerous revolting, indecent and cruel acts before us, of even a more flagitious and disgraceful character, the bare recital of many of which, would shock that true modesty and propriety which women abolitionists of the north are desirous to bring into repute, and establish among the people. We would by no means insinuate that southern women are all of this class, for we doubt not, there are many whose sense of propriety, were it not on account of personal safety, would prompt them to join us in our efforts. Such we esteem as our beloved sisters, and earnestly hope that the time may soon arrive, in which they may, without endangering their lives, publicly espouse our cause.

DRUSILLA UNTHANK, *Secretary.*

[The firmness of Queen Isabella enabled Columbus to present a new world to the old and change the destinies of both. Catharine Ist. by her address, effected the treaty of Pruth, and saved the Russian army and empire. Mary W. Montague, by introducing inoculation from the east into Europe, saved the health and lives of millions, having first tried it on her own child. Madame Tallien from her solitary dungeon, inspired the men of France with the energy to divert the guillotine from the wholesale slaughter of virtuous citizens to the necks of misguided rulers. And recently, when the monument of Bunker Hill had for years been languishing in premature dilapidation, the ladies of Boston, by a single effort, furnished the complement.]—*Petition to the N. York Legislature, that married women be entitled to their own property.*

#### ANDOVER FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

We feel that woman has a place in this God-like work, for woman's woes, and woman's wrongs, are borne to us on every breeze that blows from the south,—woman has a place, for she forms a part

in God's created intelligent instrumentality to reform the world. God never made her to be inactive—nor in all cases to follow in the wake of man. When man proves recreant to his duty, and faithless to his Maker, woman, with her feeling heart, should rouse him—should start his sympathies—should cry in his ear, and raise such a storm of generous sentiment, as shall never let him sleep again. We believe God gave woman a heart to feel—an eye to weep—a hand to work—a tongue to speak. Now let her use that tongue to speak on slavery. Is it not a curse—a heaven-daring abomination? Let her employ that hand, to labor for the slave. Does not her sister in bonds, labor night and day without reward? Let her heart grieve, and her eye fill with tears, in view of a female's body dishonored—a female's mind debased—a female's soul forever ruined! Woman nothing to do with slavery? Abhorred the thought!! We will pray to abhor it more and more. Is not woman abused—woman trampled upon—woman spoiled of her virtue, her probity, her influence, her joy! and this, not in India—not in China—not in Turkey—not in Africa—but in America—in the United States of America—in the birth-place of Washington, the father of freedom, the protector of woman, the friend of equality and human rights!

We are under many obligations to Rev. Charles Fitch of Boston, for a powerful discourse, one week since, on the abominations of slavery. He made this direful system appear more abominable than robbery, drunkenness, murder, or even the basest forms of licentiousness, considered singly and alone. Slavery is to be deprecated, more than any of these. And why? Because it is the burning, blasting, withering focus of them all. Nothing so foul, but slavery fosters it—nothing so unclean, but slavery revels in it—nothing so contemptible, but slavery covers it—nothing so murderous, but slavery perpetrates it. Who will say, language is adequate to set forth the horrors of such a system! Its abomination verily beggar description! To realize them, is to be speechless in the depths of inexpressible feeling.

ELIZABETH EMERY, *President.*

MARY P. ABBOTT, *Rec. Secretary.*

### PROVIDENCE LADIES A. S. SOCIETY.

*Resolved*, That we act as moral agents and christians fearlessly in this cause—thinking and acting in view of our accountability to our Maker—remembering that our rights are sacred and immutable, and founded on the liberty of the gospel, that great emancipation act for women. We further resolve, that we will not be turned aside from the object we have espoused, by the intimidations of ridicule, or the intoxicating flatteries of men and women, whose god is their selfishness, nor be cajoled into a selfish conceit of our superiority over the millions of females in our country, whose unuttered and unutterable cries of agony from oppression, will, as they rise to heaven, shake terribly our guilty land; but we will turn our eyes, for example and imitation, to those philanthropists in Europe and America, who, through self-denial and persecution, have become pioneers in the cause

of emancipation, some of whom we have seen face to face; and while they command our reverence, they call forth our gratitude as women for the shadowing out they have given of our rights, by means of the full light which their benevolent efforts have shed on the equality of the rights of man.

SARAH PRATT, *Secretary.*

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THE LADIES OF DARLINGTON,

*To the Ladies A. S. Association of New-England.*

We rejoice in the victory which the long protracted struggle of Great Britain has achieved, in having at length succeeded, to a great extent, in breaking the fetters of slavery in her own colonies. But our object is universal freedom—the breaking of every yoke, the deliverance of the oppressed, of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation. We regard, therefore, with feelings of the deepest sorrow, the existence of slavery and the slave trade, with all their attendant abominations, in the southern states of America. Odious as such a system must be, under any circumstances, its existence is doubly deplorable and culpable in a land calling itself free, and amongst a people professing the christian name. So glaring an inconsistency must injure the cause of Liberty in the world at large, whilst it affords to the espouser of infidelity his most cogent argument against our holy religion.

The heart-stirring addresses of George Thompson have been eminently instrumental, in this country, in awakening feelings of abhorrence towards American slavery. We cannot better convey to you our sentiments on the subject than by saying they are in unison with his.

We contemplate, with peculiar delight, the powerful and salutary influence you must exert over public feeling, by the faithful and fearless testimony you bear against the prejudices, corruptions, and oppressions which disgrace your nation. Truth and humanity, reason and revelation, are on your side. Your cause must, therefore, eventually triumph. We would encourage you to persevere with unremitting energy, in the use of all christian efforts, until the meridian splendor of that glorious day, which shall witness the last link to be broken which binds the slave—until all the odious distinctions founded on color shall be buried in oblivion, and the injured sons of Africa in your land restored to the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of humanity.

ELIZABETH PEASE,  
JESSE ELIZABETH WEMYSS.

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FRANCES HARRIET WHIPPLE.

If our gospel teachers will not lead us, we must lead them! I speak with all deference—and yet I repeat, emphatically—we must lead them! To begin, we must ponder the right way—and, having ascertained, we must pursue it, fearlessly, undeviatingly. Kindly remonstrating with opposers—bearing opposition and abuse with a

‘meek and quiet spirit;’ but at the same time, yielding no opinion, conceding no principle, withholding no truth, which conscience tells us it is right to hold and maintain, Such a course of conduct will have its authority. One after another will notice, inquire, listen, and finally believe.

There are, perhaps, not far from a million of our sisters—sisters by the universal affinity of our race—sisters by every principle of love taught by Him whom we profess to follow—now in slavery. Slavery! Have ye pondered the word? Do ye know what it means? Think what it is to hold home, kindred, friends—even honor and virtue, at the mercy of a man who may assume, if he do not possess; unlimited power—and who is a miracle, if he be not a tyrant! You have heard of the human market—of the measured nutriment—of the cruel task—of the knotted scourge—of the darkened soul! But have you known the peculiar, the monstrous aggravations, which attend the slavery of woman? Have you brought home the subject to your hearts? or, rather, have you gone, with your whole soul, to the subject, and scanned every form of horror it presents? If you have not, it is time you should do so; and as their sister—and yours—as a follower of the same blessed teacher—as an aspirant to the same glorious promises—I feel it an imperative duty, on the present occasion, to urge on you the necessity of thought, of action, of deliberate, firm, but energetic action! This is no longer a matter of choice, of taste, or of convenience. Duty—stern, uncompromising duty, calls to action! Hesitation, unwillingness are crime—we cannot be, at once, idle and innocent! All can do something; and if but one word be spoken, like the good kernel, falling on good ground, it may bring forth fruit an hundred fold!

‘Let your light shine before men.’ Light is, in its very nature diffusive. One after another will catch a glimpse—a ray—a beam. The darkness of midnight will give way. The dawn will brighten—the morning star arise—the sun appear, the sun of truth, peace, liberty,—making glorious the day of equal, universal freedom! This is no idle, no poetic speculation! Such a day must come; and, to hasten it, to bring it within the view of this generation,—would any sacrifice be too great—any labor too severe?

Now, beloved, though I never saw, may never see you, yet my spirit is joined to yours by ties stronger than neighborhood-society, or even consanguinity, ever wrought! We are united in the bonds of common persecution, common scorn. We are united in one common labor to promote one single, glorious object! Reason, Conscience and Religion, Hand, Heart and Soul, strengthen, elevate, and spiritualize the tie; and, never having looked upon each other, we feel that we are sisters.—*Appeal to American Women.*

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#### DORCHESTER, MASS. A. S. SOCIETY.

‘What has woman to do with slavery?’ We are ashamed and sorry to say—woman has much to do with slavery. Women are slave-holders. Women are apologists for slavery. Women are slaves. Women, too, are the greatest sufferers. Therefore, woman has to do

with slavery—women should be interested. We all, in a greater or less degree, exert an influence on those around us. Let us, then, who believe slavery is wrong, come out against it, and by our influence, our efforts, our prayers, hasten on the great work of emancipation. That women's influence is felt, none can deny. How important, then, that her influence should be given on the side of truth, of justice, and of mercy. O, my friends, how can we meet those down-trodden fellow-beings at the bar of God, if we refuse to plead their cause against an ungodly nation? How can we look calmly on, and see immortal souls, the purchase of a Saviour's blood, made a thing of merchandize—bought and sold, regardless of all social and natural ties?

SARAH BAKER, *Corresponding Sec.*

## APPEAL

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FEMALE EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, TO THE FRIENDS OF UNIVERSAL LIBERTY.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,—Although the same Heaven-descending privileges are enjoyed by us as in former years, the millions of human beings who are “held as goods and chattles” in our southern states, still groan under the pressure of their woes.

Robbed of that, which alone can render life a blessing, they ask for our aid. Parents plead in behalf of themselves and their children,—children for mercy to be extended to their aged parents, brothers for sisters, sisters for brothers, and, added to all this is the cry of thousands of innocents, who as in the days of Herod are sacrificed on the altar of slavery to gratify the love of power and gold. Yes, let us remember this last fearful item; no less than two hundred helpless infants are daily seized by the rapacious slave-holder, counted among his sheep and swine, “to be sold to the highest bidder.”

Because of the sorrows of these, who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, do we appeal to you at this time for sympathy and prayer in their behalf. It were needless to recapitulate particular instances of suffering and wo, for had we all the varied scenes of outward misery before us, that are witnessed through the length and breadth of our southern territory, we should even then have but a faint picture of the work of death produced by this worst foe of the human race.

May, 1842.

## THE ANTI-MARRIAGE LAW OF MASSACHUSETTS.

GEORGE BRADBURN.

That such a law (prohibiting marriage) a law, so utterly derogatory to all those principles of freedom and equality, which every New Englander, at least, is supposed to reverence—a law, which graduates human rights by the hue of the skin, which would brand with infamy more than one of America's statesmen and most eloquent orators, which tramples in the dust the divine institution of marriage, and legalizes the most high-handed robbery of the innocent and the helpless—that such a law should be suffered to remain so long on the statute book of Massachusetts, I regard as among the facts destined, at once, to task the credulity, and excite the wonder and reprobation of posterity. Posterity may find some excuse, perhaps see some reason, for the conduct of our puritanical fathers, in breaking the necks of heretics, and putting men and women to death for “the sin of witchcraft.” Some palliation of that conduct may be found in the general darkness of the age, in which those fathers lived. But how posterity can palliate or excuse the continuance, by men living among the lights of the present age, of a statute so odious, so unjust, and so ridiculously absurd and contemptible withal, as the one in question, it is quite impossible to conceive. But the fact, that, when respectable women, moved by the wrongs inflicted by this law, adventured to pray for its repeal, they were answered with ribald jests, with sarcasms, lampoons, and sneers, were denounced as affecting with the ‘insanity of fanaticism,’ taunted with seeking to annul a ‘statute of decency,’ and assailed, directly, openly, and unblushingly, with imputations even upon their virtue, not only by gentlemen, so called, standing in their places as members of the Massachusetts house of representatives, but also in the deliberate, printed reports drawn up by the chairmen of grave legislative committees—this is a fact, calculated more than all others perhaps, to excite in posterity, if indeed posterity can be made to credit it, deep feelings of surprise, of amazement, of indignant, burning reprobation. But posterity will do justice to both the object and the motives of the petitioners. And when ‘future historians shall form an estimate of the manners and morals of the age,’ those petitioners, having declined availing themselves of the ‘opportunity,’ which the chairman of one of the committee just alluded to, with liberality almost peculiar to himself, was disposed to ‘afford’ them, ‘to remove their names from the rolls on which they are written,’ they will be honorably set down as among the few, that were willing to do something, not less for the reformation of those ‘manners and morals,’ than for the extension to all of the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges; while their traducers, too insignificant to be ‘damned to everlasting fame,’ though not too impotent, perhaps, to have aided somewhat as well in corrupting the ‘manners and morals of the age,’ as in perpetuating that corruption, will be passed over, and allowed to sink quietly into oblivion.

## JOSHUA LEAVITT.

The ascendancy of the slave-power in the councils of the nation, obtained through the ill-advised concessions of the federal constitution, and strengthened by a long series of usurpations on the one hand, and of surrenders on the other, is unjust, dangerous to the union, and incompatible with the preservation of free government; and is the principal cause of the political and financial evils under which we groan; and thus the only hope of relief is in a united determination of the friends of freedom, to employ all wise and lawful means for the extinction of slavery itself.

The first point is the fact of the ascendancy of the slave power in the general government. It controls all national appointments. No man has been or can be elected president, but a slave-holder, or a man fully approved by the slave-holders. Slave-holders have been vice-presidents since 1820; and presidents of the senate since 1800; thus securing the casting vote in the senate. Since 1822, none but a slave-holder has been speaker of the house. A majority of the supreme court are from the slave states. Every member of the cabinet is either a slave-holder or a devoted supporter of the slave power. It controls the national diplomacy. For six years, the chief business of our minister at London, was to urge the British government to pay for certain shipwrecked slaves, set at liberty by the old habeas corpus; and at length the sum of £25,000 was gained for the slave-holders, a sum just about equal to the expense of the mission; and this while the boundary question and other important matters were chiefly overlooked. We have now six foreign embassies engaged in looking after the interests of the tobacco planters. Slavery controls the legislation of Congress. No act has been passed, no course of legislation adopted but with the consent of the slave power. And no demand of the slave-holders has ever been successfully resisted, however injurious it might be to other interests, contrary to the constitution, hostile to the principles of liberty and justice, or derogatory to the national honor. Slavery holds the nation as a subjugated kingdom, and allows the government to exercise its functions only in strict subserviency to the will of the dominant power.

2. This ascendancy has been gained through the ill-advised concessions of the constitution, and strengthened by a series of usurpations and submissions disgraceful to the nation. Let it be borne in mind that all the concessions to slavery were purely gratuitous. Slavery had no claims to be considered. It was not an interest of the nation, it added nothing to the national wealth, the national strength, or the national honor, but is a mere damage to them all, and is in no sense entitled to be regarded as an interest, but as an enemy. For these concessions, the slave-holders rendered no equivalent. They pressed their claims, not by argument or by persuasion, but by bullying; and the constitution pacified them, as a man would pacify a highway robber who with a pistol at his breast demands his purse, and at length by a "compromise" takes up with half the amount. Our fathers never would have yielded as they did, but for the belief then generally entertained that slavery would be of tem-

porary duration, and that the future tendencies would all be in favor of liberty. The result does honor to their good feeling, rather than their wisdom. They overlooked the moral axioms, that the tolerance of sin leads to corruption, and that usurpation ever grows by submission and is never satisfied.

3. That these concessions are wholly unjust in their operation, as between the two sections of the country, may be seen from a slight examination of one of them.

#### THE FEDERAL RATIO.

By the constitution, the slave-holding states are allowed to be represented for three-fifths of the number of their slaves. This is an unjust law, because slaves are not in law persons in those states, they neither sustain the relations nor exercise the functions of persons, they do not possess the prerogatives nor bear the responsibilities of persons, nor contribute as persons to the common wealth or strength, and therefore have no right to be considered as persons in the apportionment of political power. Representatives represent only people, freemen. The south has 3-8 millions of people and 100 representatives, the north 7 millions and 142 representatives. The south is only entitled to 75 representatives, and by recurring to the history of the country it will be found that these 25 representatives of slaves have in fact determined nearly every important question of the government. Look at the bearing of this on particular states.

Pennsylvania has 937,877 free inhabitants, and 19 representatives. Virginia has nearly 200,000 less, and 21 representatives, when she is only entitled to 16. This is a specimen.

The representation in the senate was originally equal, but is now greatly changed. The senate was divided between the north and south (Delaware then being always reckoned with the north until 1819) thus

1789	North, 16	Senators, representing each,.....	123,000
	South, 10	" " " " .....	125,000
1820	North, 22	" " " " .....	228,000
	South, 22	" " " " .....	125,000
1839	North, 26	" " " " .....	269,000
	South, 26	" " " " .....	145,757

The admission of Louisiana, in 1812, and the going over of Delaware to slavery, produced this tie, of which the Missouri compromise was the first fruits—the full harvest of infamy and woe is yet to be reaped.

The electoral vote for president is composed of both these ratios, and combines the injustice of both. Pennsylvania has 30 votes for president; the six states, of S. Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Kentucky, with a free population nearly 200,000 less, has 52 votes. Their number, in proportion to their free population, would be 26, or just one-half. Had the division of the states remained as it was when the constitution was adopted, and had the increase in the proportionate number of the free and slave

states kept pace with the increase of free population, the free states would now have 36 senators instead of 26; and were a right apportionment made, the electoral vote would stand 178 N. to 101 S. instead of 168 to 126. The 45 electoral votes gratuitously conceded to slavery, are enough to govern all elections, by being judiciously employed in balancing the parties of the north, so as to keep them all in subserviency to the slave interest, whenever that comes in competition with the interest of the country.

Ohio, with 202,453 votes, has 21 electors; while Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi, with 211,939 voters, have 76 electors. Massachusetts, with 74,594 votes, has 14 electors; North Carolina and Alabama, with 74,000 votes, have 22 electors; and Virginia and South Carolina, with 83,000 votes, have 34.

In the distribution of the surplus revenue, in 1837, the slave states managed to get the electoral ratio established as the rule of apportionment. In consequence, six of the slave states, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Kentucky, became entitled to \$6,754,588; while Pennsylvania, with a population of nearly 200,000 more, had only \$3,823,358. New-Jersey received \$3.20 to each free person, Georgia \$4.80, South Carolina \$5.27, Louisiana \$6, and Massachusetts two dollars and ninety-two cents.

4. It is easy to show that this element of our political institutions is both dangerous to the union and incompatible with a free government. The possession of unjust and irresponsible power always intoxicates, and those who hold it become infatuated, and extend their encroachments in an increased ratio, until they become intolerable, and drive the oppressed to revolution. Such is the history of the past. Such is the career now running by the slave-power in this country. Its gags, its post-office restrictions, its political intolerance, its interference with every political and financial interest, will, if not checked by constitutional means, drive the people of the north to a revolution, for which the responsibility will chiefly rest upon such northern statesmen as [Proffit,] Van Buren, Webster, Buchanan, &c. who vie with each other in efforts to bind the north at the chariot wheels of the slave-power.

5. Time fails, to illustrate, in detail, the extent to which slavery is the cause of our political and financial evils. In politics, it embarrasses all our diplomacy with foreign nations. It sacrifices the national honor. How it looks, to see a government professedly free chiefly occupied in securing and extending the interests of slavery! It binds us helpless and trembling at the feet of the nation with which we are chiefly in contact. It enslaves the public press, that old "palladium of liberty." It controls public offices. It inflames parties at the north, so that its pendulum power can be employed to keep them vying with each other in self-degradation and servility.—*The Emancipator.*

## ELIZUR WRIGHT, JUN.

Friends and fellow laborers, the enemy now stands openly before us. His foot is on the neck, of 2,500,000 of our fellow-men. He asserts his right to maintain his position, and to increase the number of his victims. He begs no longer any favors from the circumstances of the case, he talks no more about a hard necessity: he boldly avows slavery to be the best condition of the laborer, without qualification of color or clime. He madly threatens more closely to shut out the light of eternal life from the unprisoned soul, as if the dark and fanatical mixture of christianity and heathenism, under an even increasing load of stripes and chains, were less likely to breed insurrection and servile war than the kind influences of free and genuine christianity combined with the mild and equitable government of law! Such is the enemy that we find rampant amidst our free institutions defended on all sides by fortifications built out of our flattery or neglect. Is there a man that loves his country or his race who will not now take the side of freedom? Is there a woman? Is there a child? The work is plain. Let abolitionists plant in every free breast a holy horror of the sin of slavery, by exposing in the light of truth its nature and tendencies. This will cut off the supply of enterprise and talent and sanctity that has yearly flowed to the south to prop up the unhallowed system. It will purify the church; it will abolitionize southern travellers and residents in the north instead of permitting them to diffuse the power of slavery among us. It will lay slave-holders under an embargo, surround them, as the moral invalids of the universe, with a *cordon sanitaire*. It will confine the contagion to the spot of its origin, as the pest house of human nature. Who can doubt, with such treatment a speedy recovery? Let the abolitionists see to it that the rights of humanity, and the high privileges of our country are secured to our colored brethren who are free. Let them smile upon their laudable endeavors to elevate themselves, and wash off the marks of the degrading chain and scourge. Let them trample on the cord of caste and dare to treat men according to their deserts and not according to the mean and guilty prejudices of an oppressive nation. Let them throw open to deserving colored youth—the mechanic's shop, the farm, the counting house and the halls of education. Of what use is freedom if it does not open the door to manhood?

Let it be remembered that the practicability and safety of our advice to the slave-holders is no longer a matter of question. They said to us, let us wait and see the result of the emancipation of 800,000 British slaves. Well, we have seen the result, and it verifies all our predictions,—if those may be called predictions, which are but the plainest teachings of common sense.

Is there a rational hope of putting a peaceful end to slavery by any other means than a thorough change of public opinion? If not we call upon all who love their country, their fellow men, and their God to join us. If we have failed in energy, if we have lacked wisdom, if there are men who are ready to carry this cause onward faster and further than we have done, let them come forward and give their country the benefit of their superior powers.

## THE SLAVE REPRESENTATION.

The American Congress is, without doubt, an anomaly as a deliberative body, in the civilized world. In that most august representative body of twenty-four sovereign and independent states, are twenty-eight members elected in consequence of two and a quarter millions of slaves existing in one part of the nation, whence these twenty-eight members come, not to represent them, but to oppose any plan, or project, which might tend to the benefit of those slaves, to whose very numbers these twenty-eight members were indebted for their seats. By counting five slaves as three white or free persons, as the basis of congressional representation, these twenty-eight members of Congress hold their seats as the chattel representatives, or as the representatives of things and not of men, and possess or claim the power to silence their chattel or thing constituency, when it asks or seeks to become a man-constituency, and also claim the high prerogative of silencing their associate members of Congress, who would seek to elevate the chattel constituency of the twenty-eight men to the man basis. The twenty-eight claim that it is a distinct portion of their official duty to countervail the sympathy and humanity of the age, when it shall manifest a desire to elevate their constituents to the common rights and privileges of mankind. These twenty-eight men come to represent nothing but the congregated absurdities and all the marked moral obliquities of this period of the world.

These twenty-eight men come, as a sort of body guard to lust, laziness, unpaid wages, ignorance, heathenism, the rights of the lash, amalgamation, prostitution, the shooting down unpaid laborers for leaving their employments, divorcing husbands and wives, separating parents and children, the selling men, women and children, by private contract or by public outcry; yea, the right of vending unborn generations; yes, the exalted privilege, peculiar to the slave-holder; of selling his own children, his own brothers and sisters, cousins, nephews and neices, into the most miserable slavery, and all and every the right of duelling, chivalry, assassination, murder and generally all and every and each of the multiplied rights embraced within the circle of the most unbounded inhumanity.

These twenty-eight congressmen are the chosen gladiators to dispute every inch of ground, which the humanity of Congress may desire to occupy. These are the men, whose votes are employed to gag the House of Representatives of the nation. These are the twenty-eight men to lead the house on the forlorn hope of suppressing debate, and take the liberties of the nation by storm, and lead them into captivity without the hope of ransom. These are the men, elected differently from all the rest, not to favor but to resist all measures offered by those, for the benefit of their thing-constituency; these are the men, who, under the pretence of preserving order and quiet, in the glory of representatives, produce wild chaos and primeval night, amidst their maniac screams of *Order! ORDER! ORDER!!!*—*Alvan Stewart.*

## ALVAN STEWART.

The enemies of our noble sentiments and elevated intentions, have resorted to the old heathen track of misrepresentation, and by adding to our code views never promulgated by us, by charging us with intentions never harbored, with expectations never cherished, and as remote from the mind of an abolitionist, as infidelity is from the conscience of piety, as meanness is from generosity, as bigotry is from charity, as truth from falsehood, as freedom from slavery. They would fain make us unfit for this world. We are not judged by evidence drawn from our own declarations or acts, but by acts which our wily adversaries prophecy, we will do or commit at some future period of time; and thus they lift the curtain which shuts from all mortal eyes, except prophets, the great unbounded future; and by looking down the vale of time, they behold us engaged in the diabolical and blood thirsty work of procuring laws passed to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and the slave territories, and in this way knocking the fetters from the bondman, which our adversaries call treason, calculated to dissolve the Union.

What Union? I doubt not that some of these union patriots would take your life, and mine, and every member of this convention, and in so doing, think they had done their master a service, and lift up their hand for eternal and unmitigated slavery to every colored man, woman and child, in the United States, and throw into the same pile all who differed with them in sentiment to promote the interest of their master. These are the patriotic Unionists, who secretly wish to dissolve the union, by permitting the great cancer to grow on the neck of the union without attempting its cure or removal. These are the friends of the union, who are willing to see two and a half millions of men, women and children, sacrificed to the demon of slavery, according to the written provisions of the constitution, which these unionists seem to suppose unalterable. These unionists are willing to destroy us, because we are not terrified at the roaring of the slave-holders; because we feel for two and a half millions of men, women and children, who are now being offered at the shrine of cruelty, lust and avarice. These lovers of the union refuse to hear the loud lamentations of bitter sorrow and hopeless grief; which, like the voice of a mighty flood, ascends day and night from every plantation, every factory, every corn-field, every rice-field, every tobacco-field, every cotton-field, and every kitchen of eleven (thirteen) states; and penetrates the ear of God.

The slaves never held a convention on the subject of their wrongs; they never met to petition for a redress of grievances, or to remonstrate against the manifold injuries by which they are broken down. No, his petition was never read within the walls of legislation. Solemn thought. Even to us who for a moment, have become his mouth-piece to tell his wrongs to the world, and demand his redress; we, even we, white skin republicans, appear to be on the eve of losing our rights as white men, from having, from the deepest impulses of humanity, become the slave's organ, to explain to an un-

feeling world, the wrongs inflicted upon him. If white men in non-slave-holding states encounter so much noise, violence and injury, in barely pleading the cause of the slave, before those who have no interest in the slave's body, and whose only interest is to cringe and flatter the master of the slave. what must be the condition of the poor slave left to plead his own cause against his own master; that master who is fed sumptuously every day, and clothed in purple and fine linen, by the unpaid labor of that slave? When will the glutton, the wine bibber, the adulterous, the avaricious, listen to the voice of the unaided slave?

### HENRY PETERSON.

What calls for the suppression of our principles? What is it that demands that we should abandon all our measures for the liberation of the helpless captive? Ay! what is it that claims the extermination of the Seminole, the expulsion of the Cherokee, the unmolested power to imbrute the oppressed slave? "The integrity of the Union." If it be true, that these states cannot remain united without the constant sacrifice of right; if every cause which is pure and holy must be immolated in its bloody temple; if it be not a means for effecting good, but a tremendous agent of fraud, and all manner of wickedness;—let the Union be dissolved.

If degradation be a sufficient reason for withholding liberty, it necessarily follows, that those who enjoy their liberty, and are notwithstanding ignorant and degraded, may rightfully be made slaves. Then the same principle which would keep the ignorant population of the south in bondage, would, if carried out, reduce to servitude the ignorant population of the north. But in truth, if a class of men be degraded, it is the very reason why they should not be slaves. If an individual is so crippled that he can hardly move, would you weigh him down with chains to make him move faster? The objector must have a very high opinion of slavery as a teacher, when he argues that it is much better than liberty to improve the mind and manners. It does, however, seem rather singular that the colored people should have been so long under the tuition of the first, without appearing the least better fitted for liberty than when they began their education—and therefore I am most decidedly an advocate for a change of masters.

A man must have liberty before he can learn how to use and appreciate it. You might as well expect to teach him to breathe without air, as learn him how to enjoy his freedom while a slave. These sensible objectors must be descendants of that very wise old lady, who advised her son "never to go into the water until he knew how to swim." If education were merely theoretical, the case would be different; but practice must always go along with theory.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### THOMAS EARLE.

I am convinced that if slavery were abolished in the south, the rise in the value of real estate in five years would more than compensate the price of the slave. Moreover, the improvement in morals, in order, in peace of mind, would be far greater than any pecuniary considerations. Look at the want of energy, industry, science, literature, and improvement in the south compared with the north, and see if you can hesitate as to the advantages. Look at the homicides and other immoralities in public men, judges, and presidents of colleges and literary institutions. Read the accounts of slaves killed by masters, and of masters killed by slaves, and contrast it with the fact, that in six and a half years of freedom in two of the British West Indies, and two and a half years in the remainder not a single white man has been killed by one of the African race; and see if you can hesitate as to the just and expedient course.

So great is my attachment to the union, that for the sake of perpetuating that union without any accompanying oppression to be committed by us of the north, I should be willing to waive any question of the strictest right, and see the whole of the public lands appropriated through a change of the constitution, to the extinction of slavery; and such I believe would be the sentiment of a vast majority of the people of the north.

There are no people on earth so disposed as slave-holders to interfere with the policy of other countries. This is a natural result of the system itself, for slavery is the greatest known interference of one class of men with the rights and interest of others, and those who practice the greater will not be likely to hesitate at the less. As this was true of the slave-holders in the tyrannical republics of Sparta and of Rome, where human beings were required to kill each other for the amusement of the aristocracy, so it is true of the slave-holders of this day. The institutions, religious and political, not only of the northern states, but of England, Mexico, Texas, France, China, and Africa, are the constant subjects of the solicitude and care of our southern slave-holding brethren. They could pass resolutions and furnish money in aid of South America, Texas, Greece, and Poland. They will, through our secretary of state, request the Pacha of Egypt not to oppress the Jews of Damascus. They would protestantize France, christianize India, and civilize Africa; yet they would deny us the right of attempting by moral suasion to convert themselves to our views of christianity.

### BERIAH GREEN.

What is American slavery? What are its inherent tendencies, and what its necessary effects? What are its victims doomed to suffer under its influence? It finds them, as the creatures of God, reflecting his image. It finds them endowed with reason, and forbids them to walk in the light of its principles. It finds them formed with the power of conscience, and forbids them to bow to its dictates. It finds them gifted with free-will, and forbids them to act according to

their choice. It finds them the children of the skies, and forbids them to make provision for their immortality. It finds them exalted and dignified by the image of God, which they bear, and does its utmost to degrade them to a level with the beasts which perish around them. In its inherent and necessary tendency it strikes at the very vitals of their humanity. It strives to obliterate every characteristic feature and property of their human nature.

And what is the language of our brother Lovejoy's blood? It speaks of the frightful impartiality of slavery in multiplying the victims of its murderous malignity. What does it care for the barriers which were designed to separate the slave states from the free? What does it care for any variety of complexion; what for powerful talents and exalted station; what for the elevated character, extensive usefulness, or general confidence, for which any American citizen may be distinguished? It condemns the most important relations and the most sacred offices. From its snake-like grasp, no sanctuary can afford any protection. To all, without the least respect for the cord of caste or the distinctions of society, it offers one and the same alternative—to subserve its interests, or stand exposed to the heaviest injuries it can inflict. This alternative, in a proclamation "breathing out threatenings and slaughter," it has put into the open mouths of myriads of criers from Georgia to Maine. And, alas, to what numbers of our fellow-citizens has not this been a terrible alternative! Thousands upon thousands have given up their birth-rights; have consented to bow down to the Moloch, "besmeared with blood of human sacrifice and parents' tears," which demanded at their hands the sacrifice of every thing dear and precious in our civil, social, and religious institutions! Among these are to be recorded a large majority of those to whom the powers of the press were confided. On the one hand, they have refused to record and to publish the frightful ravages which slavery was multiplying, especially its fearful encroachments on the inheritance of freemen; and on the other, they have taxed their utmost ingenuity to frame and circulate the most deceitful apologies for any of its excesses which might break upon the public attention. They have done what they could to protect and encourage the monster, while gnawing with unwearied tooth upon the vitals of the republic. To such conductors of the press must, in multiplied instances, be added those to whom was entrusted the sword of the magistrate. From the heads of law-abiding, public-spirited, and useful citizens, who, while exposed to the greatest injuries, had the strongest claims upon their countenance and aid, they have withdrawn the shield of their protection. Often have they been known to be the instigators and abettors of the intoxicated rabble, whom they have virtually led on to the wildest excesses and the most intolerable outrages. In their official stations, they have played the tyrant;—avowing maxims, and advancing doctrines, and setting up pretensions, obviously and radically subversive of the whole frame-work of our government. The sword which they had sworn to use in defence of freedom, they have, without blushing for their perjury and perfidy, offered to employ in the service of slavery.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### NATHANIEL COLVER.

The real owner of every slave is known. God is the owner of every slave (man) and every slave (man) is the God-appointed guardian of himself; and both the owner and guardian are ever present to claim the restoration.

But brother Davis justifies the slave-holders, because southern laws forbid emancipation. Then southern laws are infamously wicked; and better for every christian in the south to die a martyr's death than endorse their guilt. If it would be wicked to hold slaves, were there no such laws, then those laws cannot make it right. Is my brother a protestant? Then, he should remember that neither popes nor legislators can grant effectual "indulgences" to sin, nor abrogate the command of God to "let the oppressed go free" and to "break every yoke." The plea of such an indulgence will not avail him in the great and trying day. Strange logic this;—man-stealers are not man-stealers, because, forsooth, the law protects them in doing the deed. So God will curse both it and those who avail themselves of its sanctions to do wickedly.

Poverty is better than guilt. God can smile upon the poor; but he will ever frown upon the oppressor. Your slaves are poor, very poor;—the state in which you hold them allows them to own nothing, not even themselves, their wives, or their children. Rich, indeed, would they count themselves, were they but possessed of what you would be, if divested even of all your chattles,—*Liberty!* In the name of justice, what right has the slave-holder to continue to be rich upon the continued robbery of the poor slaves, who, by the infamous and admitted kidnapping of others, have been subjected to their power. Such an argument as this, will do for them who have forgotten God and justice, but it is surprising that it should ever have found utterance from a christian.

Most freely do I admit that there are many kind-hearted and humane men who hold slaves—as kind to their slaves as the relation will allow them to be, and that their kindness dashes the bitter cup of slavery with transient sweets, but still, slavery is a bitter cup. Under the most favorable circumstances, its bitterness is not neutralized by the admixture of personal kindness, while to millions it is a cup of unmingled gall. It has been represented that the slaves are well treated, happy, contented and attached to their masters, but is it so!! Ask the north star which has guided so many of them to the land of liberty, where their weary, toil-worn, whip-scarred limbs have found a resting place, in Canada! The slaves well treated and contented? What means the shaking of the south at the fluttering of every leaf? Their vigilance committees? Their muzzling of the press and the freedom of speech? So confident are the south of the unnatural and dangerous structure of their society, that the chivalrous sons of the south have become slaves. Yes, their magistrates and ministers must bow down and ask *master mob*, what publications they may read!—*Discussion with J. Davis.*

## RICHARD HILDRETH.

Slavery is a continuation of the state of war. It is true that one of the combatants is subdued and bound ; but the war is not terminated. If I do not put the captive to death, this apparent clemency does not arise from any good will towards him, or any extinction on my part of hostile feelings and intentions. I spare his life merely because I expect to be able to put him to a use more advantageous to myself. And if the captive, on the other hand, feigns submission, still he is only watching for an opportunity to escape my grasp, and if possible to inflict upon me evils as great as those to which I have subjected him.

War is justly regarded, and with the progress of civilization it comes every day more and more to be regarded, as the very greatest of social calamities. The introduction of slavery into a community, amounts to an eternal protraction of that calamity, and a universal diffusion of it through the whole mass of society, and that too, in its most ferocious form.

Now every plantation in the slave states is to be looked upon as the seat of a little camp, which overawes and keeps in subjection the surrounding peasantry. The master claims and exercises over his slaves all the rights of war above described, and others yet more terrible. Consider too that this infliction is not limited to a single neighborhood, as in the case of an invading army, but is scattered and diffused over the whole extent of the country ; nor is it temporary as in the other case, but constant and perpetual. It is by taking a view like this, that we are enabled to form a primary, general, outline idea of the social condition of a slave-holding community.

Considering slaves merely as property, there are two grievous infringements upon the master's liberty. But consider them as men, and the infringement upon the master's freedom of action is still more intolerable. I am deprived by law of the capacity to be benevolent and just. I am ready to confer upon a fellow being the highest boon which man can give or receive ;—but the laws do not permit me to confer it. Perhaps the slave is my own child. No matter ; he shall remain a slave to the day of his death, unless I can obtain as a particular grace and favor, a special permission to set him free. Is this liberty ? Is not the servitude of the father as miserable almost as that of the son ?

The authors of these laws have plainly perceived that the natural dictates of humanity are at war with the institution of slavery ; and that if left to their own operation, sooner or later, they would accomplish its overthrow. To perpetuate the slavery of the unprivileged class, they have fettered up those sentiments of the human heart, which are the foundation of morality and of the charities of life. For the sake of brutalizing others, they have sought to barbarize themselves.

Liberty of opinion, liberty of speech, and liberty of the press do not exist in the southern states of the American Union, any more than under any other despotism. No doubt there are some subjects which may be very freely discussed there ; but the same is the case

under all despotisms. Any body may freely discuss at Rome or Moscow, the merits and demerits of American slavery. The only prohibited subjects are, the plans of government and systems of policy upheld by the pope or the czar.

Instead however of saying that the masters and the slaves are equally happy, the idea might be more clearly and distinctly expressed by saying, that both masters and slaves are equally miserable. Slavery is an invention for dividing the goods and ills of life into two separate parcels, so as to bestow all the ills upon the slaves, and all the good upon the masters. So far as regards the slaves, this attempt is successful enough. The miseries of life are concentrated upon their heads in a terrible mass. But as respects the masters, the experiment fails entirely.—*Despotism in America.*

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### J. BLANCHARD.

All can see, at a glance, that a slave's virtues are of little earthly use to him. Honesty and industry in business will not bring him wealth, nor can dishonesty and idleness sink him into a lower poverty than that which belongs to the condition of a slave. For no man can be poorer than he who does not own himself. Intelligence, talents, refinement, all that constitutes the glory of a civilized man, are but so many curses to one doomed to slavery for life. Every thing that quickens his sensibilities, only makes him the more alive to the misery and degradation of his condition; for it is only while he forgets that he is a man, that he can be contented as a slave.

Who then can reduce man to this terrible state, or retain him in it, and not justly dread the denunciations of God against oppression? When he strips his slave of the safe-guards of virtue, and the attributes of humanity, he usurps for himself the prerogatives of God! Nay, worse still. He demands of the slave a submission not claimed by God; and enforces it by means which are never resorted to by the Devil! For Jehovah never governs his rational creatures by mere will; and Satan never coerces, though he tempts men to serve him. The slave-holder does both. The rule of life to the slave is locked up in the owner's breast. He knows not to-day what submissions he may be called to on the morrow. Thus he has no fixed rule or law of life.

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### S. B. TREADWELL.

One-sixth part only of the human family are white. Five-sixths of the whole human race, are by the hand of our Common Parent, complexioned from the olive to the copper color, and from the copper color, still darker. The aristocratic principles, of what is commonly called prejudice against color, exhibit not only the wickedness, but the extreme folly of our entertaining, and deliberately cherishing such feelings against people who happen to be somewhat differently complexioned to ourselves, that we cannot extend to them even the common civilities, hospitalities, or the charities of life. This wonderful monster in human nature, is nothing more nor less than hateful

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

aristocratic caste. To say the least of it, it is anti-republican, unreasonable, unkind, illiberal, not to say unchristian and wicked.

The guilty conscience of the slave-holder, while he holds his vampire grasp upon his human prey, dares not allow him to give them the least possible means of knowing and avenging their wrongs, any more than the pirate himself dares put his bloody implements into the hands of his ill-fated victims. But when the slave-holder draws the iron from the soul, lets go his grasp, and sets his slaves at full liberty to breathe their native air of freedom, as their benevolent Creator designed them to do, they leap for joy, and at once rally around him as their best friend, and bury their past wrongs forever. They can then begin to learn, and to appreciate the invaluable boon of civil liberty, and like men raised from the dead, to the astonishment of all, "they are seen walking uprightly."—*American Liberties and American Slavery.*

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### HENRY C. WRIGHT.

The slaves are a part of "the governed" spoken of by our fathers, and what are we taught respecting their rights?—Annually, on the fourth of July, it has been the practice throughout the nation, from its birth, to rehearse the Declaration of Independence, for the purpose of refreshing the memories of the people with the great fundamental principles on which the government is erected, that every man may be reminded of the sound and solid foundation of our republican edifice, and, keeping them as the apple of the eye, may hold them up in holy defiance of all political aspirants, who may be disposed to elevate themselves at the expense of the rights of others. In doing this, we have professed not to be supremely selfish. We have hoped to see the thrones of foreign despotism subverted by these principles of right. We have thundered them in the ears of all nations, till the earth rang again. This is the noise that ye have heard for more than half a century. We have sympathized with the valiant Poles and struggling Greeks, and it was our principles of independence which prompted such sympathy. But must we forget the application of these principles to the cruelly oppressed in our own country? Must we bow with reverential awe, or rather with recreant servility, before the haughty "throne of iniquity," erected on the bodies and souls—the most precious rights—the groans and tears of millions of our own fellow-citizens, thousands of them being of "the posterity" of that generation of Americans, who resisted unto blood the principles and the impositions of tyrants, and established this republic "to secure to themselves and to their posterity, the blessings of Liberty?"

Let the nation retract her pretensions to all political piety, and rescind her declaration of those holy principles, and stand out before God and mankind the unblushing advocate of despotism, the object of Jehovah's wrath and of the world's scorn,—or honestly apply those principles to every provision of her constitution—that it may be purified of all the pollution, which has been imposed on it, and

stand forth to the eyes of all nations, as the most righteous and best of all constitutions, and to the eye of Him, who made all men equal, and endowed them with the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as a worthy transcript of His own holy constitution of government.

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THOMAS PYNE.

Sad were it, and deep the national disgrace, and more fearful the transgression of driving away, or of leaving in ignorance the poor Indian. May a better lot await them—*those*, alas! who have little cause of gratulation in this day of thanksgiving,—since they see their land overrun with strangers,—the graves of their fathers violated, and themselves doomed to a precarious life! How greatly indeed have they learnt the vices—how little of the blessings of civilization! How has the banner which bears the inscription of the Prince of Peace, become to them often the token of persecution and of death! If national crimes provoke divine judgments, have we nothing to fear from the avenging spirit beneath whose eye the savage is not forgotten? Certainly now at length the enlightened and the favored should arise for their rescue.

I regard the voluntary tenure of men contrary to their consent in hopeless and hereditary bondage as decidedly sinful. I regard the purchase and sale of human beings, the denial to them of the marriage-tie, the forcible separation of parents and children, the compulsory requirement of them to labor without wages, and by the stimulus of the whip, the keeping them in ignorance,—possibly to the ruin of their souls, for the sake of retaining authority over them,—as awful breaches of the rules of justice and mercy. I doubt not there are many benevolent people among the whites of the south. Some I am ever proud and happy to esteem my friends—I speak not therefore against these, but against the system of slavery.

The territories of the United States and the district of Columbia are under the influence of Congress—a Congress returned from every part of the union. Surely, then, in these regions the evil might be more and more fully petitioned against. Especially does it appear a dreadful and most ominous fact that Columbia, the place in which meet the Congress of, if we believe what we hear, the freest people on earth, should be the greatest slave-market in America, perhaps in the world. By memorials, then, to the legislature, by the return of men attached to freedom,—universal freedom,—and by the influence of moral suasion, should the disinterested and patriotic citizens of America seek a removal from among them of the oppressive laws. The whole of the civilized world, I believe I may say, now expects of America that she should cherish the savage, and that she should liberate the slave.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### CIRCULAR OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY, May, 1842

We commend to every person who is friendly to the abolition of slavery, to gird on the strength of principle, and come up, speedily, in aid of our great purpose. Let there be no waiting for each other; but prompt action in each, and it will necessarily be simultaneous. The public sentiment of the nation is alive, and sensitive to impression from the principles of equal justice. Every day develops this encouraging fact, and assures us that any amount of labor we can bring into the field, will receive a just reward.

By the weeping and suffering of the millions of our fellow-beings, we call on the country to awake from its inaction, and commence a vigorous campaign for the ensuing year. Friends, whoever you be, whether members of anti-slavery societies or not, call meetings, and read this circular, without delay. Read it in the social circle—read it to your neighbors—press it on every conscience, and weary not in your efforts to make it productive of the best results.

Signed, on behalf of the committee.

J. H. GIBBONS, *Chairman.*

L. M. CHILD, *Rec. Secretary.*

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### CHARLES MARRIOT

There is one expedient by which the use of these articles of slave-labor might be continued, and yet the amount of suffering be greatly diminished. Let those who think they cannot relinquish them, send a deputation of their members to purchase slaves, raise sugars, &c. for the use of friends only; these persons would be responsible, their breasts would contain some portion of the milk of human kindness, and the poor blacks would no longer groan under the iron hand of despotism. We should then be only supporting slavery in its mildest, instead of its harshest form.

It is a common observation that your sex have an extensive influence over the conduct of ours. It is also a truth, though one that man in his fancied superiority may reluctantly admit, that a very large proportion of all the morality and piety that exist in the world is communicated through the medium of your instructions. This would not excite surprise, were we to reflect that the human mind during the period when it is most susceptible of impressions, and when the impressions it receives are most durable, is almost exclusively under your control.

These observations are general, but it is believed they are peculiarly applicable to the females of the Friend's Religious Society, which has seen and had the candor to admit the importance of your station.

Your social and general duties have been enlarged, in a degree unknown elsewhere; and may be still further enlarged until the society reap all the advantages that they might derive from your just and equal co-operation in its labors.

The domestic economy of your household depends chiefly on you, and there are numbers among you, who have long refused to participate in the gain of oppression. Your example is exceedingly im-

portant Think on the distressed situation of unprotected females—on the sufferings of infancy. Reflect that the course you pursue, may involve in its consequences the happiness of thousands. I appeal to you in their behalf, shall I appeal in vain?—*On declining the use of the products of slave labor.*

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ARNOLD BUFFUM.

From Philadelphia to Harrisburgh we pass through one of the finest and most fertile countries in the world. Here is

“No tawny Afric doom'd to woes—  
To cruel toils and countless blows,  
Beneath a tyrant's hand ;  
But all are equal—all are free,—  
The patriot sons of liberty,  
Hail equal happy land.”

Here Nature, wise legislation, and good husbandry, seem to have united in preparing the home of plenty, freedom, virtue and happiness. Had not the anti-slavery principles of Franklin, Rush, Benezet, Woolman, and their coadjutors, produced the abolition of slavery here, these delightful fields would now have been blighted with the withering influence of slavery's curse, and moral desolation would have swept over this fair land as with a besom of destruction ; and we may bless the God of mercy that “Friends” had not then learned that they were too good to associate with other advocates of human rights, in promoting the deliverance of their fellow-heirs of immortal glory, from the crushing, soul-destroying influence of slavery.

Among our travellers was a gentleman from Texas, who is a member of the national legislature, and one who assisted in the formation of the constitution, which prohibits the importation of slaves from Africa, and provides for the importation of slaves from these United States ; seeming to regard the United States as sunk to a state of barbarism and degradation so low that she will tolerate foreigners in coming to her shores to buy, and steal, and carry off into hopeless slavery, her own children, in whose veins may be coursing the blood of the proud aristocracy of our country. We had much conversation upon this subject ; his wife and child, and child's nurse (a very black slave) were with him, and the whole subject of slavery was very freely and fully canvassed, with all its pollutions ; in which canvass his wife took a part, and still maintained, notwithstanding slaveholders' wives have to behold their husband's children among the slaves, that she liked the system because it relieved them from the necessity of doing any more work than they might choose.

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SAMUEL J. MAY.

If fidelity to the sacred principles of civil and religious liberty, and of sound morality, public and private, demanded of our puritan forefathers so great exertions and sacrifices as they made, surely the far grosser violations of these same principles, which we see at this day in our country, demand of us at least as great exertions, and, if need

be, as great sacrifices of personal comfort, to the extent even of our lives.

I am ashamed that there are men and women, aye, professed christians and christian ministers, too, in our country, who would have it thought, that a man must suffer injury in his own person, or his own rights before he can reasonably complain—that it is therefore no grievance, no concern of mine, that there are millions of my fellow beings, my countrymen, who are trodden down into the dust, who are denied every thing that makes this life pleasant, and are shut out even from the light of Heaven. I am heartily ashamed, I am sincerely grieved that there are such men and women, professing christians too, in our land; but, it is notorious that there are such, many such in this commonwealth, aye, among the lineal descendants of the Pilgrims. To such, therefore, it is necessary to show, which can too easily be done, that we are ourselves most seriously molested, by the system of slavery and its abettors, in the exercise of our civil and religious liberties.

Although we of the north are citizens of this republic, and as such must be partakers in the prosperity or adversity of the nation; although we see that from the beginning, the institution of slavery has been a fruitful source of evil to our body politic; although we must of course share in the disgrace, that is brought upon us by this glaring inconsistency between our professions and our practices—and must ere long suffer with the rest of our guilty countrymen under the inflictions of the Almighty's hand, if his hand be not shortened that he cannot vindicate the unchangeable laws of his moral government. The most cruel constraint that could be imposed upon us,—is to be compelled to be partakers of other men's sins, compelled to acquiesce in a system of abominable wickedness, compelled to be silent in view of the greatest wrongs man can inflict upon his fellow. Rather than submit to this who would not wear the chain himself? Yet this is the constraint which the abettors of slavery in our land would fasten upon us.

Highly important as I deem the theological questions, that have been, and still are, in controversy between us and our orthodox brethren, I cannot consider them by any means so important as the great moral principles, on which is based the kingdom of Christ—the kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy in the holy spirit. I cannot regard doctrines, which too often play round the head but come not to the heart, so truly evangelical as those which stir men up to labor and to suffer in the cause of humanity. And when I see any one zealous and firm in advocating and maintaining the great moral, beneficent principles of the gospel, him I desire to embrace as a brother in the Lord, let him be of what sect he may. The more I have contemplated this subject, the more clearly have I been brought to perceive, that in our country the true righteous must be anti-slavery. For the crying sin of our nation is the sin of slavery.

## JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

It seems to me that all we abolitionists ought to demand of any one, as the condition of receiving our support, is, evidence that he is heartily opposed to slavery, and deems its abolition of paramount importance to the welfare of our country, and the cause of humanity. Such evidence we certainly have received from Mr. Adams. No other public man in the country has had either the opportunity or the power to make known and felt his determined hostility to the despotism that oppresses one-sixth part of the population of the land. No other man would have been permitted to do, if any other had had the courage to attempt what he has done. We cannot be grateful enough that such a man was in Congress just at the time when he espoused the cause of our insulted petitions. His venerable age—his high official and personal character—his intimate acquaintance with every part of the history of our country—his abundant store of pertinent facts—and his unequalled adroitness in the conduct of a legislative debate—these were all needed to sustain him in the bold position he took in that moment of imminent peril.—*Samuel J. May.*

## CHARLES STEWART.

The whole demeanor of the French to us (British delegates to their anti-slavery convention,) was strikingly kind, and bespoke the most generous confidence. They are jealous indeed of our power, and perhaps may unite with your government in rejecting the mutual right of search; but their appreciation of you as a slave-holding and a slave-trading republic, will not be the less emphatically condemnatory and contemptuous. You are beginning to stand alone among civilized nations, the most hypocritical, tyrannical and ferocious of all. The Anglo-Saxon blood, of which you boast, blushes at its alliance with you.

Meanwhile, the march of liberty is onward. The advocacy of its friends, and the opposition of its enemies, alike advance it. Man is not made for eternal falsehood. Multitudes, indeed, destroy themselves and perish everlastingly, but amidst the chaos, truth is growing—love is perfecting—liberty is reviving; and other multitudes are returning to God and to their brother. Onward then, onward, brethren beloved, abolitionists of the United States!—God is with you. Human nature, where not smothered by ten-fold corruption, is with you. The cry of the oppressed and poor, which God heareth is with you—truth, law, love, freedom, justice, purity, peace, all are with you, and nothing is against you but the blindest and darkest delusion of perdition, armed for the moment with the tyrant's power, and steeled for the moment with the tyrant's heart, but the power of the tyrant is doomed, and the heart of the tyrant must relent or perish.

Yes, I love to look forward to the United States, a few years hence, as free, as brave, as generous, as enlightened, as just, as powerful, the loathsome leprosy of slavery cast of; then shall you be a purifying light, not a scorching meteor to the world, a balm not a blain.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

I feel persuaded that before the close of 1843, a measure of emancipation will be completed by the French government ; not perfect as it should be, but better, I trust, than our English crazy and criminal slave apprenticeship system ; more immediate liberty, and more certainly providing for freedom, eventually and thoroughly.

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### HENRY B. STANTON.

Congress, is the only law-making power for the district. The question then is, has it power to make a law abolishing slavery there ? All its power over the district, is derived from the constitution ; and it gives it 'exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever.' Is the case of slavery excepted ? No. Then of course it is included in the grant of power.

In the preamble to the United States constitution, one of the reasons assigned for its formation is, 'to establish justice.' The emancipation of the slave is not to wrest from any rightful owner his private property, but is to establish justice between the slave and his master. It is giving to the slave what is 'just and equal,'—his own body :—himself. It is saying that the slave's body and mind are his : and that he has a right to them. When congress abolishes slavery, it establishes justice between two men,—giving to the slave his own, and taking from the master what never, in justice, belonged to him. To give the slave personal ownership, is, however, far from full justice to him. That would demand of the master full compensation—not merely saying to him, 'rob the slave no longer, but pay him for past robberies.' And, indeed, has congress no right to do this ? What ! a government no power to do justice between its subjects ? No power to keep one portion from robbing another ? Such a government is a mockery ! a nullity !

But, in the abolition of slavery, congress would do nothing more in regard to private property, than is done in every legislature in the nation. Laws are made every where, regulating transactions between persons :—adjusting the relative claims of different classes ; employers and employed ; guardians and wards ; masters and apprentices ; the exercise of professions ; and the prosecution of trades. All such laws (and certainly they are no curiosity !) affect the rights and property of individuals ; and they are designed so to affect them as 'to establish justice.' And, the repeal of the old law of entailments, and the enacting of the statute of limitations :—the regulation by law of the alienation of property, its transmission by descent, and by will, the saying who shall and who shall not be heirs, and how it shall be divided among them :—all these statutory provisions most seriously affect the right of private property. And yet, who ever doubted the power of legislation to do such acts ? And slavery has been abolished in New-York, and other states, by statute ! This has never been considered as any violation of private property.

Man's superior right to himself, over the claims of another, is self-evident. It stands pre-eminent among the essentials of his moral nature. His right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### LEICESTER A. SAWYER.

Let us suppose a thorough reform of this institution to be prosecuted, till nothing wrong should be left. What would be removed? And what would remain? The marriage relation would be restored to its integrity, the laborer entitled to a compensation equal to the value of his labor, the rights of personal liberty, of property, and of conscience, all acknowledged; laws prohibiting instruction repealed, arrangements for extending the advantages of common and liberal education as widely as possible, adopted and prosecuted with vigor, and parents, the natural guardians and masters of their children, designated to this office by the providence of God, allowed by the civil authority to exercise all the appropriate duties of the parental relation, in the government and instruction of their children, and to make what provision they can for their temporary and eternal welfare. In such a reform, slavery will indeed be corrected; its abuses will be removed, but it will be by the entire subversion of the institution itself. Those who are now in slavery might still, in some cases, be servants; but they would not be slaves. An equitable apprenticeship to business is not slavery; an equitable domestic servitude is not; no person who enjoys the rights of property and of personal liberty, can justly be considered a slave.—*Dissertation on Servitude.*

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### FRANCIS GILLETTE.

The question is not simply whether three millions of our "countrymen in chains," and their posterity, shall continue to bleed at every pore, under a system of legalized despotism, among the fiercest, the basest, and the most relentless, that ever smote humanity—a despotism which strikes, with deadly aim, at the souls and hearts of its victims, that it may clutch their bodies more securely, and degrade them to its own sordid and infamous purposes. The question stops not with the bond, it reaches the free, and admonishes us of yokes and fetters forging for our own necks and limbs. It is, in short, whether the slaves of this country are to become freemen, or the freemen, slaves—whether Liberty or Slavery shall prevail throughout the United States; for God has decreed, that the nation which persists in enslaving, shall itself be enslaved. He warns us of our impending doom, by the storms of popular fury, which burst over the land, as forerunners of dark and desolating judgments. The Freedom of Speech, the Liberty of the Press, the Right of Petition,—all our rights as freemen, are imperiled. Is this then the time to yield our position, and retire from the field of united resistance? No; as men, as patriots, as christians, we cannot, we dare not. Our hearts are fixed; our purpose is steadfast. With the constitution of our country for our shield; with the truth of Him, whose attributes are justice and mercy, for our sword, we are resolved never to give over the contest, till death shall paralyze our efforts, or the land be cleansed from the pollutions of slavery as clean as after the deluge left it.

## JAMES G. BIRNEY.

Kidnapping is carried on in this country to a great extent,—in some parts of it, almost without the necessity of secrecy or concealment. Scores of unsuspecting colored persons, born free, are annually spirited away from the free states, and sold into slavery in the south. This trade (for it now deserves that name,) the legitimate offspring of slavery, finds large material in the states north of the Ohio.

A law-abiding people under honest rulers must in the long run be a safe and prosperous people. If their laws should any of them be unsuitable, they will in due time be made what they ought to be. But a people whose rulers and leaders have cast off reverence for human laws—always preceded by casting off reverence for laws of still higher obligation—such a people cannot be in a more pitiable and hopeless condition. There is much reason to fear, on a review of our domestic history for the last twelve or fifteen years, that our poor country is fast falling, if she has not already fallen into this condition. We have so long practised injustice, adding to it hypocrisy, in the treatment of the colored race, both negroes and Indians, that we begin to regard injustice as an element—a chief element—the chief element in our government. Now, no government which admits injustice as an element can be a harmonious one or a permanent one. Harmony is the antagonist of injustice, ever has been, and ever will be; that is, so long as injustice lasts, which cannot always be, for it is a lie, a semblance, therefore, perishable. True, from the imperfection of man, his ambition and selfishness, injustice often finds its way incidentally into the administration of public affairs, and maintains its footing a long time, before it is cast out by the legitimate elements of government.

Our own slave states, especially the more southern of them, in which the number of slaves is greater, and in which, of course, the sentiment of injustice is stronger than in the more northern ones, are to be placed on the list of decaying communities. To a philosophic observer, they seem to be falling back on the scale of civilization. Even at their present point of retrogression, the cause of civilization and human improvement would lose nothing by their annihilation.

The question now for the north finally to decide is—shall the slave states draw us down with them, and both perish, or shall we, by a decided conjunct exertion of virtuous energy, save ourselves and them from destruction. When I say this question is not yet finally decided by the north, I am not unaware that the north has been for a long time approaching—of late rapidly—to a fatal decision.

## LEWIS TAPPAN;

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the friends of humanity and liberty are due to the eloquent and gifted men and women, who, by their pens and tongues have portrayed the wrongs of the enslaved, and the blessings of liberty; who have vindicated the rights of the bond, the fugitive and the free; and have thus infused into the literature of the day, the principles of freedom, humanity and justice.

That those ministers of the gospel, and missionaries of the cross, and those churches of the Lord Jesus Christ, of different denomina-

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tions, who have, in opposition to a time-serving ecclesiastical policy and hardness of heart against the claims of suffering humanity, openly and fearlessly proclaimed the law of the living God and the claims of their fellow men, with reference to the crying sins of slavery and prejudice against color, which pollute the sanctuary, dishonor religion, and disgrace the nation—are entitled to the warmest sympathy and the thanks of their fellow christians, as they have, we doubt not, received the approving smile of that Saviour who came to preach the gospel to the poor—to heal the broken hearted, to preace deliverance to the captives—and to set at liberty them that are bruised.—*Resolutions at the A. S. Society, 1842.*

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### JAMES C. JACKSON.

That portion of this nation known in the “Lexicon Verborum” of the aristocracy of church and state, by the soubriquet of the “the common people,” is, by far, the most morally intelligent class. They stand in a far more favorable position. They can read, think, act, speak without subjecting themselves to a crucifixion. With little of which the world would value, they stand ready to look at Truth for its own sake, and are not ready to be dictated in their religion, without a show of resistance; that I am right, is manifest from the fact that the largest number by far, of the abolitionists is taken from their ranks. It is true now-a-days as in Christ's time that the common people hear the truth gladly. Their conceptions are sufficient to show them that it is only in conforming to truth that their rights and interests are to be maintained, and that they must cleave to a truth when their minds perceive it. Dulness of conception or perception is not the failing of any considerable portion of the American people. It is the want of the heart to enforce the truths they see; and that of no class can it be said, with more propriety that the truth they perceive they cast behind them, than of the doctors of divinity and clergy of the United States. It is to the people, and not to men clothed with prerogative, that we are to look for the deliverance of the slave. Let us carry our noble cause to the people, and let the clergy and the politicians alone; when the people are converted, we shall find these gentlemen not lacking. The motto is, “WAKE UP THE PEOPLE!”

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### J. W. PILLSBURY.

Slavery is of two kinds—voluntary and involuntary. The former is endured by white men. Not a few smother truth in their bosoms, not daring or caring to utter it, lest it should turn to their disadvantage. They feel uneasy, but from various motives, some of them very sordid, they preserve silence. This is slavery. But whatever may be the kind of slavery, if there is any desire for freedom, it is not without its manifestations. Men talk of contentment in slavery—but it is idle. Those who talk so, betray a deplorable want of knowledge of human nature. Man was made to be free—to breathe free air—to move his limbs freely, and to exercise freely all his phy-

sical and mental powers ; and from the right exercise of these flows his enjoyment. What makes any person contented ? Not present fruition. Man's happiness is chiefly in prospect. He has not yet reached it ; but the reward is before him, and he is cheered on. Rob the future of hope, and he is truly wretched. Such is in reality the condition of the colored slave. His future prospect is nought but hopeless, cheerless toil.

Men will think, and speak, and write upon all subjects of morality and duty, even when intimidations are held out, and a thousand hecatombs of human victims are demanded for the altar. Let inquiry be crushed in one direction, and who will give it security in another. Who shall decide for us what to speak, and think, and write, when once we have admitted the right of others to control us ? Our security is not the shuffling out of sight great moral subjects, questions of right and duty ; but in freely investigating, fully understanding, and cheerfully obeying them. We must know our duty, and follow it, wherever it leads, or the government of a righteous God is so constructed as to give us no protection.

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#### AMOS DRESSER.

I took the opportunity thus offered to declare fully my sentiments on the subject of slavery. Whilst I told them I believed slave-holding to be inconsistent with the gospel, and a constant transgression of God's law, I yet said, that in bringing about emancipation, the interests of the master were to be consulted as well as those of the slave. And that the whole scheme of emancipation contemplated this result, that the slave should be put in possession of rights which we have declared to be inalienable from him as a man ; that he should be considered as an immortal fellow-being, intrusted by his master with the custody of his own happiness, and accountable to him for the exercise of his powers ; that he should be treated as our neighbor and our brother. In reference to my demeanor towards the slave, that in the few instances in which I had casually conversed with them, I had recommended quietness, patience, submission ; teaching them to "render good for evil," and discountenancing every scheme of emancipation which did not, during its process, look for its success in the good conduct of the slaves whilst they remain such, and to the influence of argument and persuasion addressed to the understandings and consciences of slave-holders, exhorting them to obey God in doing justice and showing mercy to their fellow-men.

What I had done, I had done openly. There was no law forbidding what I had done. I had contracted no guilt that the law considered such—my intentions had been those of kindness to all—I had no secret feelings of guilt, arraigning me before the bar of my conscience, for any mean or clandestine movement. In addition to this, too, among my triers, there was a great portion of the respectability of Nashville. Nearly half of the whole number, professors of christianity, the reputed stay of the church, supporters of the cause of benevolence in the form of Tracts and Missionary Societies and Sab-

bath-schools, several members, and most of the elders of the Presbyterian church.

I was condemned to receive twenty lashes on my bare back, and ordered to leave the place in twenty-four hours. The sentence being again repeated, it was received with great applause, accompanied by stamping of feet and clapping of hands. I knelt to receive the punishment which was inflicted by Mr. Braughton, the city officer with a heavy cow-skin. The commotion was only appeased by the sound of the instrument of torture and disgrace on my naked body.

I had been assured that my trunk with all its contents, as they were taken out, should be returned to me. But Mr. Hunt, editor of the Banner, set himself busily to work to secure in his own hands, my journal, sketch-book, business and private letters, &c. I found it necessary to leave the place in disguise, with only what clothing I had about my person; leaving unsold property to the amount of nearly three hundred dollars, and sacrificing at least two hundred on my barouche, horse, &c. which I was obliged to sell. Of my effects at Nashville, I have heard nothing since my return, though I have frequently written to my friends concerning them.

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#### CHARLES OLCOTT.

The grand Scriptural perversion mainly relied on for the justification of human slavery among christians, and upon the strength of which the bloody abomination has been permitted to exist and flourish among them more than four hundred years, is in the false translation and false construction of the 44th, 45th and 46th verses of the 25th chapter of Leviticus. The friends of human slavery always first resort to this celebrated passage as a triumphant vindication of their bloody idol.

The special object of the distributive part of the address was, to regulate and establish the custom of free foreign service in the nation, and to prevent its abuse by the customary clause at the end of the statute, forbidding masters to take advantage of their power as such to wrong their servants; vide Lev. 19: 13; and 25; 17, 43; Mal. 3: 5,—and other passages. This view of the subject is strongly corroborated by the fact, that as soon as foreigners of any description become settled in Israel by proselytism and conversion to the true faith, they become adopted Israelites, entitled to all the rights and privileges both spiritual and temporal of native Israelites, and as such were as much 'brethren' and 'children of Israel' as the rest were.

None of the Hebrew servants really 'sold themselves,' as they are customarily described to have done, but like other free servants contracted or hired out their time, labor and skill for wages. That none of them could possibly have been property or slaves, is clear from the context of the Levitical Law, as has been abundantly shown by other writers; and even without this additional proof, it is a sufficient justification of this construction in favor of universal liberty and justice, that different nations frequently employ different forms of expression to convey the same ideas.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### JAMES BROWN.

If the union were dissolved, or the south were to secede from it, the mutual rights and duties of the slave-holding and the non-slave-holding states under the federal constitution would cease. The free states, instead of being as they now are, the hunting-grounds of fugitives from slavery, would become, in fact, what our 4th of July orators, by a trope more resembling irony than metaphor, represent as "the asylum of the oppressed." A confederacy of slave-holding states would be a new thing under the sun. Slavery cannot stand alone, but must lean on freedom for physical strength to uphold it, and I doubt not but that long ere this, the south would have been involved in all the horrors of a servile war, if the slave had not been taught by his master that the fleets and armies of the nation, the militia of the north, were a standing army pledged to suppress his insurrectionary efforts. A nation isolated from freedom, in which the laboring class, the bone and muscle of the country, is enslaved, is marked out by the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, as a doomed and devoted land. To avoid the horrors of servile war, it must rely on a mercenary army to uphold its tottering institutions, and as a necessary result, the oppressor himself becomes the oppressed victim of a military despotism. For slavery, therefore, to threaten to secede from freedom, is like the clay threatening to separate from the iron, or the pauper to dissolve connection with his parish.

Whatever difference an American congress may, in its protective tariff wisdom, have discovered between the foreign and domestic slave-trade, the one is piracy equally with the other, in the criminal code of Heaven, and the infant soul that is nailed to the cross of slavery at its birth, cries in thunder tones to heaven, that some other reason be rendered for its enslavement, than that the baleful star of its nativity threw it into the fangs of one who was signed with the sign of the cross at an American baptismal fount.

If it is not a mere figure of speech, a mere "rhetorical flourish" for a human being to say, my hands and my feet, my head and my heart, my body and my soul, then the slave-holder stands confessed a man-stealer. "How much better," asks the Saviour of our race, in tremendous emphasis, "how much better is a man than a sheep?" When that question is answered, I can tell the haughty and chivalrous slave-holder, to whom northern patriotism and northern piety bend so obsequiously, how much more abominable, in the etiquette of the sanctuary, is the man thief than the sheep thief.—*American Slavery.*

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### CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

Upon its own testimony, slavery is the most monstrous embodiment of the spirit of selfishness the world ever saw. What definition can we give of selfishness—what idea can we form of that spirit to which the gospel is utterly and entirely opposed, that is not embraced in slavery? So far from doing to the slave what he would exact for himself, he takes from him all that he has—nay, takes him from himself—and crushing together by overwhelming oppression,

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every interest both of soul and body, of the past, the present, and the future, throws the whole man into his coffers. Lay now this system by the side of christianity—lay the great doctrine of christian brotherhood—of universal equality, of impartial love, by the side of the enormous exactions, and wrongs, and usurpations of slavery—can there be a doubt of their perfect antagonism? Is not the one utterly unlike and subversive of the other? Slavery is opposed to christianity, in the highest degree. It assails it at the foundation.

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### WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The southern slaves are retained in the condition of bondage only in obedience to the national will; and as soon as the nation, as a nation—and as soon as the christian church of this country as a church, rise up in their strength, and power, and moral greatness, and declare that slavery shall cease, that moment slavery will cease; and its abolition might take place to-morrow.

If this be the fact, how red is the blood upon our skirts, and how deep is the dye of the guilt of those who do not make the removal of this sin and curse a part of their continual effort. But let us open our own bosoms, and then ask ourselves what have been our own relations to this American system of wrong and oppression; let us open our own bosoms and ask ourselves by whom is slavery sustained. It is by the phalanx of the strength of numbers—by the force of public opinion—by the voice of the intelligent and the virtuous—by the voice of the church—by the consent of christians—by the legislation of the country, and by our national policy. And hence, when all these things are combined to characterize slavery as a national system, we are justified in adopting the resolution that it well deserves to be called the American system.

When we presented ourselves before the sisterhood of nations, we were bound, by all those principles which called upon us to break our own bands, to stand up in the defence of the rights of man; but when the choral song of humanity was sung, and was ringing amid the earth, and when the gentle flow of its softest music coursed through every heart, who then broke its harmony? Who now is called upon to destroy the union and concord of nations to the tune of liberty? It is Mr. Cass, who is obliged to refuse to enter into the national agreement for the abolition of the slave trade. It is enough to condemn any man with all who have the honor and the pride of their country at heart. I speak not of him as a man—but as a representative, whose actions have become public property, and upon which all may express their opinion. When the quintuple treaty was signed in France, who was it that refused to agree to its provisions? Was it Constantinople, whose slave marts are filled with human beings? Was it Algiers? No; but the refusal comes from the American minister, who represents the boasted republic of the New World—whose vaunted freedom sounds throughout the civilized world.

Look at another instance. What has been our conduct in reference to Hayti and Texas? Hayti, which is free, and has won her independence by a struggle which was as glorious and as noble as

any contest which ever yet took place upon the earth, and which has raised her unsullied front for the last forty years, is yet accounted by us as unworthy to be welcomed among the sisterhood of nations.

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### GEORGE BRADBURN.

If we should be involved in a war, and obliged to expend an almost countless sum in carrying it on, the south has very politely informed us, that if we will furnish the men, she will furnish the officers; and the expenses may come out of the pockets of those who have the money. Not satisfied, however, with requiring us to support the American slave trade, we are also called upon to support the African, and to let the stripes and stars of our boasted republic float unfurled to the breeze, at the mast-head of every pirate-craft which is engaged in the nefarious traffic. We are as a nation committed in defence of slavery; and we could not, under present circumstances, be truly and consistently represented in European courts, by any but those identified with slave-holding interests.

But why is it that we must not let our flag be invaded, in order to assist in putting a stop to the slave trade? Why, Uncle Sam's dignity must not be touched! Uncle Sam has so much dignity, that he will not suffer any one to inquire who is sailing under his colors. Uncle Sam will be satisfied with nothing short of giving his dignity, and his power, and his name, to the support of a trade which is at war with every principle of humanity and justice, and is determined to let foreign nations know it.

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### CHARLES HAMMOND.

"In three years, the slave population of Mississippi increased from 70,000 to 160,000 slaves! at an average cost of at least \$1,000 each! making the debt for slaves alone, in three years, swell to \$90,000,000!! From 1833 to 1837, cotton bore an exorbitant high price. This, together with the increased force, induced the planter to direct all his energy to its cultivation, relying upon purchasing every article of consumption. He neglected to raise his corn and pork; he had to purchase more mules, horses and ploughs, open more lands, and increase his bills with the merchants, whom he totally neglected to pay. When the crash came in May, 1838, all the paper held against the planter by the merchants or nearly all, was transferred to the banks, or sued upon by the merchants. The crowds of business in the different courts delayed judgment, and when judgment was at last obtained, the sheriff and marshals could find nothing scarcely to levy upon. Bankruptcy and ruin among some of the merchants were inevitable; and in their fall they crushed the banks.

"A change has taken place. By a late decision in the federal court at Jackson, Mississippi, all contracts for slaves since May, 1833, are made null and void, the new constitution forbidding the introduction of slaves for sale. Two-thirds of the present debt of the state is for slaves bought since May, 1833."—*U. S. Gazette*.

The facts disclosed are of immense importance, in whatever light they may be viewed. Their bearing upon the trade and business of the country, is full of instruction. But their political developments are of most interest. With this revival of the domestic slave trade, sprang up the fury of the south against all movements that touched the character of slavery. It became the era of new and strange doctrines, which have been pushed to sad extremities. These have been mainly directed against freedom of opinion, and unrestrained discussion. The wide spread they have taken has filled many hearts with sorrow and apprehension. It has swelled some with deep indignation. But the doctrine has gained force, until it has become a kind of Sibboleth in political party. All at once here is a revulsion. The veil is rent assunder—and the uniting and conflicting interests stand exposed in open view.

The slave trade was first. The slave breeders were pleased with a ready market, at good prices. The slave dealer rejoiced in his profits. The cotton grower felt delight at the gainsome expansion of his cotton fields. The merchants of the Atlantic cities counted up the per cents upon their sales, and their profits on exchanges. The bank gloried in becoming cotton traders. Of a sudden, all these luminations are extinguished. In their stead, we have the hideous crowd of debtors and creditors, described, by the correspondent of the United States Gazette. Of these, the slave trader stood foremost in exultation. But here comes a new expounding of the law. The slave trader loses his debt. His bonds and mortgages are declared void, because the product of an illegal trade. And the slaves subjected to that illegal trade, are (or should be) made freemen, by the law that is violated

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### SAMUEL H. COX.

There is a manifest difference between principles abstractly and absolutely viewed, and their application to particular cases; these may be qualified and even palliated, just for the same reason that they may be aggravated also, by circumstances. That slavery, the system identically of our own country, is intrinsically and pre-eminent-ly wrong, is at variance with the everlasting righteousness of the moral empire of God, or, as the lawyers say, is *malum in se*, is a proposition of almost self-evident truth. I know that all masters are not equally cruel, covetous, or obdurate; and that all slaves are not equally abused: nay, that some are treated comparatively well and kindly, and are comparatively happy. But what of this as it respects the conscience? It is all one system. Every owner of a slave, upholds the system—lends it the awful sanction of his practice, his influence, and his name; and is, like a temperate drinker, (as it respects another grand moral interest of reform,) a mighty obstacle to the ascendancy of correct sentiment and correct action in the community. I am more struck with the similarities of injury, than with the seeming exceptions of favor, in the privations and degradations of the slaves.

## JOHN NEWLAND MAFFIT

What hath Africa done, that her children should blacken beneath a heavier, more lasting curse, than ever rested on any other nation? What hath she done to thee, great America, that thou holdest her sons, her daughters, her feeble infants in bondage, and refusest to let them go? To erase from being, is to inflict but a momentary pang—while to enslave generation after generation, from the earliest dawn of life's clouded day to its dark going down, is to entail torture in such a fearful shape, as to make it bear no imaginary similitude to everlasting wo. The day is past, when any attempt may be expected to vindicate slavery on philosophical or religious principles. It is a horrible wrong, unjustifiable, impeached by every noble feeling that throbs the bosoms of the collective race of humanity. Christian America! I must close my plea in behalf of enslaved millions, by charging home upon the capitol—upon legislative halls in slaveholding states—upon magistrates and people—upon army and navy—upon plain, mountain, and river, the deep, and as yet irreversible stain of slavery!

## JOHN N. T. TUCKER.

While professing to be the friend of the slave, I should employ agents to buy, sell, whip, torture, cut off the ears, dig out the eyes, chop up the bodies, separate parents and children, husbands and wives, raise mulattoes, sell my mulatto children, and commit all and singular the ten thousand published and unpublished abominations that grow out of the system of slavery, as, with the same profession, to cast a vote for the election to law-making and law-administering offices, men who do these things, or apologise for their doing in others. To me it appears very plain, that I could not remain a true member of a pro-slavery political party, and maintain unblemished my profession of republicanism, philanthropy, patriotism. Nor do I see how I could sustain the relation of a true friend of a pro-slavery, 'degenerate' church, and maintain unblemished my profession of humanity, benevolence, purity, or religion. The only difference, to my mind, between those professed abolitionists who go along with their pro-slavery political parties, and those making the same profession, who go along with their religious parties, is, that the former act most consistently. They wisely regard the divine assurance, that 'reformation should begin at the house of God,' which is the church of God. 'Ye are God's building.' The politician waits to see this reformation begin in its appropriate place.

## ELLIS GRAY LORING.

In the history of our country, just so far as we have adhered to great principles of abstract right, our country has been great and glorious; and just so far as we have disregarded the principles of theoretic right for the sake of expediency and safety, we have been

involved in disgrace and disaster. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished; the results have been good.

To do rightly, is true prudence. The best policy is to be just, and there is at least a presumption that we shall find it safe. But we are called upon to prove the expediency of agitating this question. Now, if we show that slavery is a great wrong, and that we only mean to use peaceable means for its removal, it is the business of our opponents to show that our course is inexpedient. Perhaps the most common objection is, that our efforts will dissolve the union. There are always apparent dangers opposed to doing right. The course of duty is certainly not strowed with flowers. It sometimes abounds with sacrifices and is full of suffering. But it is, on the whole, the path of peace.

But what would the south gain, by a dissolution of the union? Will she gain exemption from anti-slavery discussions and anti-slavery doctrines? Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, admitted, on the floor of congress, that all the literature of the world, the whole religious sentiment of christendom, all philosophy, were opposed to slavery. Do our southern friends intend to shut all this out? Will they draw about them a cordon sanitaire to exclude the literature and philosophy and religion of all the rest of mankind? This is somewhat difficult in the nineteenth century. Mr. Preston gave an account of the origin of the anti-slavery mania abroad. It begun with a few obscure individuals in England. Now, said he, a man cannot be in the cabinet who is not an abolitionist. So in France. The officers of anti-slavery societies in France, are cabinet ministers.

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### GEORGE F. SIMMONS

In these, as in all others, the right to liberty remaining unalienable, nothing but the strongest considerations of public good can authorize its being any longer suspended. Or if insuperable practical difficulties present themselves in the way of legislation, and emancipation continue to be forbidden by law, then the master, holding such an one in his dependence, must regard him as a freeman, must give him the fruits of his labor, must secure him in his domestic rights, must protect him from all wrong, and afford him opportunity, while he lives, to answer the ends of life, and to prepare to enter another, and less oppressive world. Nothing less than this can possibly be deduced from the golden rule of christian morals. Nothing less than this can be proposed to you as your duty, except by one strangely deluded, or by one who cares more for your opinion than for truth.

The principle on which slavery is founded is entirely overthrown by the fundamental principle of christian morality. Christianity makes all men our brethren. Slavery makes men our tools. And the fallacy of its principle is fully allowed here as well as elsewhere. I do not appeal to the majority of slave-holders, because the majority of this class, as well as of other classes, is bad, and is not to be trusted to discern and confess truth through the cloud of interest; but I appeal to that minority of magnanimous, honorable and be-

nevolent men, in whom the golden principles of the community are treasured up, and who deserve to be considered the voice of the community in all questions of justice and equity.—*Sermon at Mobile, 1840.*

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CHARLES L. TORREY.

There are many here (in Washington,) who abhor slavery, and are not afraid, at all times, to avow it; and the number is increasing. Yet here, too, the vile and dastardly spirit of slavery is seen, in every day life, continually. A father, an excellent, pious man, has just been sold, by one deemed an upright citizen, from his children and wife. The man is over fifty years of age. His family are free, but he, it is to be feared, will be the victim of the slave-trade, in New-Orleans. A poor woman, spurred on by the hope of liberty, has earned and paid \$260 of the \$400 demanded for her freedom, and last week was sold to the trader for \$300, as a slave for life, by the man—the monster—who has pocketed her life's earnings! A refined and kind-hearted woman told me (and she mentioned it as proof of his regard for her!) that her husband had sold an excellent girl to the trader for a trivial piece of impertinence, scarcely deserving a reprimand! 'But,' said she, 'if these negroes are not made to know their place, what can we do with them, you know!' I have seen a woman, apparently as refined, as lady-like, ay, and as white as any women in Scituate—an humble christian too, but, alas! a slave—in this district, held by the laws of congress, clasping her hands in anguish too deep for words, because she was made the sport of a tyrant's lust! And then the contempt of the poor, the disregard of feelings, the denial or undervaluing of their virtue and services, the petty and malicious infringements upon their rights, rights that even a slave may possess, conventionally, though not by law—with which I almost daily become acquainted, or see illustrated in life, fill me with new and ever increasing abhorrence of the slave system. And the despotic control which slavery exercises over our government, and the measures of intimidation, flattery, party seduction and dictation, by which that control is maintained, as they are more clearly seen and understood, strengthen my conviction that the paramount political duty of freemen is to overthrow the system of slavery.

Nothing, next to the diffusion and power of 'pure religion and undefiled before God and the father,' among its inhabitants, do I so much desire, as to see them, with the same zeal and intelligence that animated and guided our fathers in the first revolution, engaged with equal unanimity in this second and more glorious revolution, which is but the completion of the work of the first, in giving to all the inhabitants of the land those inalienable, heaven-derived, law-guarded rights, which the first contest secured to a portion, only, of the people. This is the great contest of our age.

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GEORGE BOURNE.

Men may travel to the south, and so far as slavery is concerned may continue in a dead sleep until they return; but wakeful and in-

quiring persons may witness in every varying occurrence, such facts as these ; and they put to instantaneous silence, all the silly trash which the southern profligates, and their northern infatuated coadjutors vociferate respecting the amalgamation of the white and colored races.

I dare not publish the particulars of the bleaching manufactory ; but some general views will unravel what southern women know or connive at or encourage, that they may pass their days in comparative sloth and voluptuousness. The language of the Prophets Joel and Amos here rightly may be applied ; and in all the sacred solemnity of divine inspiration, they furnish a clue into the slave-trader's labyrinth.

"They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for a harlot, and a girl for wine that they may drink." Joel 3 : 3. "A man and his father will go in unto the same maid, to profane my holy name." Amos 2 : 7. \* \* \* \*

It will probably be alleged, that these exposures are so utterly scandalous, that they ought not to be published. If slavery were like any other unnatural system of turpitude, accurately known and therefore avoided by all good men, and abandoned only to the lowest profligates and incorrigible villains, the plea peradventure might be admitted. On the contrary, slavery exercises its ruthless despotism over the United States of America. It controls all our congressional legislation. It domineers in all ecclesiastical proceedings. It silences the christian ministry. It nullifies evangelical doctrine and discipline. It is a stony hearted and iron armed monster, which from the halls of legislation, the benches of justice, and even the pulpit of the sanctuary, brandishes his whip of scorpions burning with fire and brimstone ; and threatens to sweep away with his besom of destruction, all that is equal in right, holy in practice, and christian in authority. —*Picture of Slavery.*

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### SPENCER KELLOGG.

There is a cruel and wicked prejudice in the hearts of mankind against the poor, especially the laboring poor. In consequence of this, there are few who, obeying the instructions of the Saviour, have ever tested the influence of a familiar intercourse with them. In this respect, as in others, it is more blessed to give than to receive ; and, however incredulous a fashionable world may be on this point, I hesitate not to affirm that there are benefits resulting to ourselves in honoring this principle, which no intercourse with the rich can confer. In social intercourse the highest results to ourselves and others flow from mingling with all classes ; and it is obviously our privilege and duty to seek to annihilate, in the circles where we have influence, that prejudice to which I have referred. This prejudice in this country is most bitter against the colored people, and, by many great surprise is expressed that it should exist. It is said that no such prejudice exists in England ; and great blame is attributed to our countrymen, as though, in this particular, they are sinners above all men. Such views are superficial. The prejudice which in this

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

country is directed against color, is directed against it secondarily, as the badge of a lowly and servile condition. It is really the condition which gives rise to the prejudice; and as the color indicates an enslaved and oppressed people, the prejudice naturally falls upon that, and all who bear it. Introduce to an American circle a colored man from China, Spain, or even the East Indies, and his color is no badge of servitude or degradation; he is accordingly welcomed and honored. The English, whose freedom from prejudice we are wont to commend in unmeasured terms, possess this prejudice as truly as Americans: but with them it is not directed against color.

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### STANLEY P. HOUGH.

A new bait is now offered, by the colonization society. Men are not required to bite at the bare hook. It is now a missionary colony, an African civilization effort, a plan to christianize the entire continent, &c. This is the new position. And we pronounce it as false in this as in any of its former professions. Has the colonization society any where in part or parcel a single shred of any thing that pertains to the enterprise of christian missions? There is surely nothing of this found in any attempts which are made to transport across the Atlantic, scores and hundreds of newly-emancipated half-heathen slaves. These colonists have in their state of bondage had enough to do with christianity that tolerates slavery to have taught them most heartily to despise such a religion. And the further claim that is set up for Liberia, that the colonial influence will prove favorable to African missions is answered in a word by the direct testimony of the missionaries laboring there, and by the recent dissensions and litigations between the Methodist missionaries and the colony.

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### AMOS A. PHELPS.

There was one delightful characteristic of the Maine A. S. Convention. It was this, that while they were calling for the immediate emancipation of the slave from the oppression of his thralldom, every individual seemed resolved on beginning the work at home, first by proclaiming to the free colored man, from that time forth, so far as they were concerned, an immediate, entire and everlasting emancipation from the hateful and wicked oppression of prejudice, and recognizing in every colored man a neighbor and a brother in the fullest sense of the terms; and second, by putting a brand of utter infamy on the man who goes from the midst of a free community into the midst of slavery and there becomes a slave-holder. O what an amount of guilt is resting on northern men in relation to this matter! Not that southern men are innocent—God forbid—but oh, how have northern men, representing as they have done the sentiment of the community from which they came—how have they, by just becoming slave-holders themselves, given the testimony of the entire north in favor of slavery, and thus endorsed and propped up the whole system—with all its guilt and woes, and blood, more effectually than any and every other class of the community beside. Let the respon-

sibility and guilt then be rolled like great mountains on the shoulders of every such man. Let a brand of infamy deep, indelible, mark that man as an object of utter abhorrence.

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E. D. HUDSON.

Much self-denying missionary labor is needed ;

1. To keep the friends from becoming drowsy and rusty.

2. To re-convert those who have the name of abolitionists, but are dead, the seed having sprung up, but for lack of earth and moisture, withered.

3. To gain access to those who stuff their ears with cotton, and dazzle their eyes with slave-holder's tinsel, and steel their hearts with negro hatred.

4. To employ the aid of anti-slavery circulating libraries, to convert those who will not attend lectures, and to establish a permanent and growing influence in each of their respective fields of operation. Let the friends now see that anti-slavery libraries are put into Sabbath schools and district schools for circulation, and they will reap a rich reward.

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WILLIAM HENRY BURLEIGH.

Toil and pray !

Groweth flesh and spirit faint ?

Think of her who pours her plaint

All the day—

Her—the wretched negro wife,

Robbed of all that sweetens life—

Her—who weeps in anguish wild

For the husband and the child

Torn away !

Nature's ties,

Binding heart with kindred heart,

Rent remorselessly apart—

Tears and sighs,

Shrieks and prayers unheeded given,

Calling out from earth to heaven—

All that speaks the slave's distress—

All that in his cup doth press

Agonics—

Wo and blight,

Broken heart and palsied mind,

Reason crushed and conscience blind,

Darkest night

Shutting from the spirit's eye,

Light and glory from on high—

Think of these and falter not !

Toil—until the slave is brought

Up to light

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### OLIVER JOHNSON.

Hark ! a voice from heaven proclaiming,  
Comfort to the bleeding slave ;  
God has heard him long complaining,  
And extends his arm to save :  
Proud Oppression  
Soon shall find an endless grave.

See ! the light of truth is breaking  
Full and clear on every hand ;  
And the voice of Mercy, speaking,  
Now is heard through all the land !  
Firm and fearless,  
See the sons of Freedom stand.

Lo ! the nation is arousing,  
From its slumbers, long and deep ;  
And the church of God is waking,  
Never, never more to sleep,  
While a bondman,  
In his chains remains to weep.

Long, too long, have we been dreaming,  
O'er our country's sin and shame ;  
Let us now, the time redeeming,  
Press the helpless captive's claim,  
Till exulting,  
He shall cast aside his chain.

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### J. KENNADAY.

When Heaven shall seal the dread oppressor's doom,  
Those dead from these dark chains shall come.  
Wrath shall no more delay,  
Mercy her tears shall stay,  
When broken hearts shall healing know,  
And God fold up the veil of wo—  
Then Afric, shall thy sun arise,  
And Freedom's flame flash brightly through thy skies !"

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### GEORGE P. MORRIS.

Our hearts are bounding with delight,  
'Tis freedom's jubilee !  
For right has triumphed over might,  
The bond again are free.  
Hurrah ! Hurrah !  
Let the welkin ring  
To justice and Liberty  
Pæans we sing !

## JACOB OSON.

would have those propagators to suppose themselves in foreign lands, of strange tongues, without a record of their forefathers, stolen away when young and never knew even their father. Put to hard labor with scanty meals and a driver over them with his lash, and nothing for their labor, and taught that they were nothing, nor ever could be any thing but vagabond slaves, and kept in this state from generation to generation. How would they appear in four hundred years?—perhaps as tarnished as we are, perhaps their craniums might somewhat be resembling the ape. But be that as it may, they would be as rough as marble before it came to the polishers' hands. Now what can such arguers think? Would they not say if they were oppressed and made tributary that all men were created equal and by their Creator were endowed with certain unalienable rights, life and liberty; would they not say that God made of one blood all nations to dwell on the earth, and that he was no respecter of persons?

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JAMES CANNINGS FULLER.

Having a great desire to see the imported "cattle" on Henry Clay's plantation, I went thither. On approaching the house, I saw a colored man, to whom I said, "Where wert thou raised?" "In Washington." "Did Henry Clay buy thee there?" "Yes." "Wilt thou show me his improved cattle?" He pointed to the orchard, and said the man who had charge of them was there. As I followed his direction, I encountered a very intelligent-looking boy, apparently eight or nine years old. I said to him, canst thou read?" "No." "Is there a school for colored people on Henry Clay's plantation?" "No." "How old art thou?" "Don't know." In the orchard I found a woman at work with her needle. I asked, "How old art thou?" "A big fifty." "How old is that?" "Near sixty." "How many children hast thou?" "Fifteen or sixteen." "Where are they?" "Colored folks don't know where their children is; they are sent all over the country." "Where wert thou raised?" "Washington." "Did Henry Clay buy thee there?" "Yes." "How many children hadst thou then?" "Four." "Where are they?" "I don't know. They tell me they are dead." The hut, in which this "source of wealth" lives, was neither as good, nor as well-floored as my stable. Several slaves were picking fruit in the orchard; I asked one of the young men whether they were taught to read on this plantation, and they answered no. I found the overseer of the cattle with a short-handled, stout whip, which had been broken. He said it answered both for a riding whip, and occasionally "to wipe off" the slaves.

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ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

I am neither an apologist for American slavery, nor an advocate of instant and universal emancipation; but I am for doing justice to master and to servant, and for having them to do justice to one another; I am for approaching by an inclined plane a point which, to

attempt in any other way would, in my opinion, be a great injury to master and servant, and would increase rather than diminish the grievances and evils, political and moral, so generally complained of. I am, above all, for having Christians (to whom alone I address myself on this subject) who have servants to carry out all the injunctions given to them in the New Testament, and thus to promote the present and the future happiness of those whose eternal destiny is in a great measure entrusted to them; and in case of neglect of duty in any instance, I am for having them called to an account for it by those who watch for their souls as they shall have to answer for it in the great day of accounts.

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### ARNOLD BUFFUM.

That man must be beside himself, who expects a great association to transact all its concerns precisely in accordance with his views. Men's minds will differ as to the detail of operations in any great work, and when we are united in the object and in the general principles which are to govern our measures we must submit, not all to one mind, but each one to the decisions of the body, and such as are not willing to do this, had better stand aloof from all associations. For my own part, however, during the little that remains to me of life my resolve is fixed, that I will not desert the cause of the oppressed, whether aided by friends or opposed by enemies; so long as my brother is in bonds, I will co-operate with such christian philanthropists as pursue the course of action most in accordance with my own views without expecting or even desiring that in all the details any individual preference should be gratified.

There is a potency in the truth, and there is a susceptibility in the human mind to the power of truth, which gives an assurance firm and unwavering, that the God of the oppressed will prosper our cause and crown it in our country with the same triumphant success which has demonstrated that it is his own work in the deliverance of 800,000 human beings from slavery in the British Colonies. When I have spread before the yeomanry of Indiana and Ohio a detail of the encroachments which the spirit of slavery has made and is making upon their rights and security, they seem to wake up as from the sleep of death, and all agree that such encroachments must be resisted. When I state that if a man should come here from a slave state, to take my coat from me, he must first obtain a precept and an officer of this state to serve it; and that before he can get my coat, he must obtain the verdict of a jury of twelve men in his favor, but if he will take the coat and body too, he has no occasion for precept or officer, but may himself seize and drag me before a magistrate, and have the case summarily decided in half an hour by a single justice of the peace, and obtain his warrant consigning me to interminable slavery, they open their eyes and say they had always thought "that law was only for black folks." When I tell them of the case of a white orphan girl in Philadelphia who by circumstances almost miraculous was saved from the brutal fangs of slavery, they begin to reflect that they may possibly leave orphan children to the same dreadful fate.

## JAMES FORTEN.

Our venerable and beloved James Forten died on the 4th March, 1842. The vast concourse of people, of all classes and complexions, numbering from three to five thousand, that followed his remains to the grave, bore testimony to the estimation in which he was universally held. Our wealthiest and most influential citizens joined in the procession; and complexional distinctions and prejudices seemed, for the time, to be forgotten, in the desire to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of departed worth. The minister, Mr. Douglass, a well educated man of color, dwelt very appropriately upon the solemn occasion of their assembly.

In estimating some of the most striking features of his character, his wide-reaching benevolence was first mentioned. Every effort to meliorate man's condition, found in James Forten a warm supporter. If he felt a deeper interest in the anti-slavery and temperance efforts, than in others, it was because they involved the interests and destinies of our unoffending, but persecuted class, with which he was particularly identified. His opposition to slavery, and zeal in the cause of human liberty, never tired or diminished. He felt it to be a duty and a pleasure to give his warm and liberal support to that band of self-sacrificing men, that had organized to labor for the redemption of his brethren in bonds. Just before speech failed him, he desired his love to be given to Mr. Garrison, and all his abolition friends. He sustained the temperance reform, not only for the vast good it was accomplishing to all, but because it promised to lift up many of his own brethren from their degradation, and take out of the mouths of the enemies of liberty their objections to the colored man's freedom.—J. MILLER McKIM.

## ISAAC T. HOPPER.

## TALES OF OPPRESSION, No. 29.

If any human being is to be despised above all others as an enemy to the human race, it is a slave hunter regardless of the sighs, groans, and tears of his fellow men.

Levin Smith was a slave in Maryland. He had a wife and several children who were free. In the year 1802, his master sold him to one of those speculators in human beings, who were in the practice of buying slaves for the southern market. He lived in Delaware.

Levin went to live with his wife and children in the district of Southwark, and commenced the business of sawing wood to support his family. His wife took in washing. I instructed him to inform me if he should hear of his master being in the city. He had not been in Philadelphia more than a month, when his master, having discovered his place of residence, went there in pursuit of him. Levin was seized in his bed about break of day, his hands tied, and he conveyed to a vessel, where the captain informed them that he must wait until the store in which some goods were deposited should be opened. Levin's wife followed her husband to the vessel; and some of her friends, who lived near their residence, being informed of what was

doing, ran to my house to solicit my assistance, I dressed myself as quickly as possible, where I was informed that they had taken Levin to a small tavern near by; and upon arriving there, I found a considerable crowd before the door. I inquired of the landlord where the persons were who had a colored man in custody, but he refused to give me any information; when one of the company about the door called out—"They are up stairs in the back room." The landlord stood in the door, and seemed disposed to prevent me from going in; but I pushed myself by him, and immediately went to the chamber, where I found Levin, with his hands tied together, guarded by five or six men. I inquired what they were going to do with the man. The words had scarcely escaped my lips, when as many as could get hold of me, seized me with great violence, hoisted the window and threw me out. I fell upon empty casks that lay in the yard, and at the time, did not feel at all hurt.

I knew perfectly well that if the man was not immediately rescued, they would force him on board the sloop and carry him off. I therefore determined to prevent it, if possible. As soon as I recovered from the fall, I went round to the front door that I had entered but a few minutes before, and proceeded up stairs to the door of the chamber from whence I had just been so unceremoniously ejected. I found it locked, so that I could not gain admittance. I then returned to the back-yard, got on the top of a high board fence, and from that upon the pent house, and in through the window, to a room adjoining that in which the party were. I took a small pen-knife out of my pocket, opened it, and holding it in my hand, threw open the door. Upon entering the room, among the kidnappers, I exclaimed, "I will see if you will get me out so soon again!" I had no intention of using my knife, for any purpose but to cut the cord with which the poor captive was bound; and I did that before the company could recover from the consternation which my second appearance among them seemed to produce. Immediately upon cutting the cords that bound the man, I told him to follow me, and ran down stairs as fast as I could, with him after me. A wretched, motley company pursued us, calling "Stop thief!" until we arrived at the office of William Robinson, a justice of the peace, near half a mile from the place whence we started. I informed him of the circumstances of the case; how the man, Levin, was originally a slave in Maryland, and had been sold to a citizen of Delaware, who had removed him to that state, by means of which he became free. No person appeared to claim the man, and the magistrate drew up a statement of his case, to which he annexed his name, and the names and residences of the Acting Committee of the Abolition Society; with a request, that if any person should attempt to deprive Levin of his liberty, one of them should be informed of it. He was never after molested. I returned home and took my breakfast, not being aware that I had received any injury by the fall. But upon attempting to rise from the table, I was suddenly seized with a violent pain in my back, which continued for several days, with such severity as to incapacitate me for attending to business. I have never entirely recovered from its effects.—*National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

## HIRAM WILSON.

Having spent most of two years among those noble spirits who have colonized themselves from the slavery of the land of liberty and equal rights, to the universal freedom that flows from the monarchy of the Queen in Upper Canada, I can judge something of the sufferings of those who have self-denial enough to labor among them. Br. Wilson's picture is far from being highly wrought. He is one of those noble spirits who refused to crouch to the aristocracy of the D. D's. of Lane Seminary, and who sought that pure, free atmosphere, more congenial to his feelings, which is the vital breath of the institution at Oberlin. As soon as he had completed his education, he started for Canada, to seek out the victims of American oppression, guided thither by the unerring rays of the polar star.

With valise in hand, he walks sometimes 50 miles in a day, through mud and mire, snow and rain. When his appetite reminds him of the demands of nature, he opens his valise, and there he finds the staff of life, carefully deposited in one end, by the hand of an affectionate wife—a help-meat indeed for him—possessing the same untiring zeal for the outcasts as himself. When the shades of night begin to fall about him, he generally finds himself made 'mighty welcome' at the humble cot of some poor refugee. After having sought out all the places where it would be practicable to establish schools, the next thing is to obtain teachers to supply them. To find a sufficient number properly qualified, free from prejudice, willing to engage in such self-denying labors with little or no compensation, is indeed no small task. To obtain them, he goes to Oberlin (the residence of noble spirits) the distance of 2 or 300 miles. Part of his journey thither is by water, and part by land. After having obtained teachers, the next thing is to do something toward remunerating them. To do this, he visits different parts of the states, and lays before the people the cause of God's suffering poor. What he collects in this way, he divides among the teachers, according to their necessities, sharing also with them himself. While he received a salary, the teachers shared it with him. Now he has no salary, he is obliged to share with them in what he collects.—WM. RAYMOND.

## JOHN E. GODFREY.

It has been, for many years, and still is, a practice to imprison colored citizens from the free states who arrive in Southern ports, whether in the capacity of seamen or otherwise: or to require a bond of the master of the vessel that they still remain on board, and for their good behavior. It is of no consequence how dark or how light these persons may be—how ignorant or how intelligent—how vile or how respectable—how poor or how rich—whether they have been of no benefit to their country, or have shed their blood like water in its service—all are alike treated, and obliged to suffer imprisonment if they set their foot upon the shore.

To the monstrous injustice of this course, and to the open disregard of that clause of the constitution which declares that "the citi-

zen of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several states," which is manifested by it, no particular attention seems to have been paid by either the people of the south or of the north until last December.

In February last some of the most respectable merchants in New-York, who felt aggrieved in consequence of this course pursued towards colored seamen in their employ at the south, petitioned for relief or remuneration from Congress, for the vexation and expense to which they had been subjected by it. At the same time 222 colored seamen petitioned that they might be protected in their lawful business and constitutional rights when they visited southern ports, as citizens of the United States, setting forth that it is frequently necessary for them to visit those ports.

When these petitions were presented some slave-holder raised the question of reception, another member moved that that question be laid upon the table, and that was the end of the petitions!

This is the course that the United States government pursues in regard to the dearest rights of American citizens. And the question which is to be settled, by the free people of the country, is, whether they will hereafter support a 'Whig' or a 'Democratic' party that professes to "maintain the pure and glorious principles of the constitution and of the Declaration," while it allows the citizens of one state to be imprisoned in another, and refuses even to hear their petitions when they ask them for redress; or whether they will be represented by men who will act in accordance with their professions and protect the constitutional rights of every American citizen?—*Bangor Gazette.*

### FREEBORN GARRETSON.

As I stood with a book in my hand, in the act of giving out a hymn, this thought powerfully struck my mind, 'it is not right for you to keep your fellow creatures in bondage; you must let the oppressed go free.' I knew it to be that same blessed voice which had spoken to me before—till then I had suspected that the practice of slave keeping was wrong; I had not read a book on the subject, nor been told so by any. I paused a minute and then replied, 'Lord, the oppressed shall go free.' And I was as clear of them in my mind, as if I had never owned one. I told them they did not belong to me, and that I did not desire their services without making them a compensation. I was now at liberty to proceed in worship. After singing, I kneeled to pray. Had I the tongue of an angel, I could not fully describe what I felt: all my dejection, and that melancholy gloom which preyed upon me, vanished in a moment, and a divine sweetness ran through my whole frame.

It was God, not man, that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves: and I shall never be able to praise him enough for it. My very heart has bled, since that, for slave-holders, especially those who made a profession of religion; for I believe it to be a crying sin.

## B. STANTON.

Notwithstanding them any discouragements with which we meet, I think we have reason to believe that the progress of the cause is onward. And although we may seem to gain but little, yet our duty is to persevere in well doing, and we have the assurance that in due time we shall reap if we faint not. Every scheme of expatriation to separate the colored from the white population of the U. S. has its origin in an unholy and anti-christian prejudice, ther tendency will be only continual evil.—*Free Labor Advocate*.

## EDWARD SMITH.

Barnsville is one of the most pro-slavery places I know ; I use the word pro-slavery, as synonymous with being opposed to abolition. Some who give tone to society are living on the blood and sweat of slaves ; Maryland slave-holders, who in the days of other years transmuted their negroes into Ohio lands, and there may be some also from Virginia of the same kind. These cry out terribly against abolition, and well they may, for we are bringing their sins to light, as they think before the time ; but we think not, but in time for them to repent and be saved from the wrath to come.

Some of my old friends at St. Clairsville, had pressed me on a former occasion to stay and preach for them the next time I might come to the place ; they did not want, they said, to hear me lecture on slavery, but were very anxious to hear me preach once more ; but I concluded, as they did not wish to know me as an abolitionist, and they gave evidence of this by not coming to the lecture, I would not be known by them as a preacher : for I thought I could do persons no good who were so prejudiced.—*Spirit of Liberty*.

## ORSON S. MURRAY.

In all ages of the church, persecution has defeated its own objects. When the church has been so pure as to be persecuted, the persecution has re-acted upon Satan's kingdom. On the other hand, when the church has grown corrupt and would not bear sound doctrine, and has herself persecuted those who raised their standard of holiness above hers, she has always thereby exposed her own corruptions, and made the shame of her own nakedness to appear.

Their cry is, "away with him." I have seen no pretension that Foster was not perfectly mild and christian in his demeanor, and perfectly truthful in his charges. The difficulty is, the church and ministry cannot bear the truth, and they are determined they will not. Stephen S. Foster feels impelled, in imitation of Christ, Stephen, Paul, and a host of others, "of whom the world was not worthy," to declare the truth to them, "whether they will hear or forbear." So he goes quietly and peaceably among them, and commences preaching. This they pronounce to be disorderly, and call in the violence of the state to crush it. The state of New-Hampshire, whose worthy son (Atherton) was the mover of the gag-law of congress, has undertaken the case.—*Vermont Telegraph*.

## JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM.

So imperfect are their notions of freedom as the "natural and inalienable right of every man" according to the terms of their own declaration of Independence that they scarcely consider it a blot, that the several states of the union, should hold so many thousands of their fellow men in unjust and unwilling bondage. But what perhaps is most surprising of all is, that so large a number of the clergy, and especially those of the Episcopal church, including those who call themselves evangelical, should be not merely palliators of the state of slavery, but advocates for its continuance, and deprecators of all public discussion or agitation on the subject; so that if the republicans understand civil and political liberty but imperfectly, the christian professors understand the liberty of religion and justice still less.

The longer we remained in Washington, the more we saw and heard of the recklessness and profligacy which characterize the manners both of its resident and fluctuating population.

The practice of carrying arms on the person is no doubt one reason why so many atrocious acts are done under the immediate influence of passion. A medical gentleman resident in the city told me he was recently called to see a young girl who had been shot at with a pistol by one of her paramours, the ball grazing her cheek with a deep wound, and disfiguring her for life; and yet nothing whatever was done to the individual, who had only failed by accident in his intention to destroy her life. In this city are many establishments where young girls are collected by procuresses, and one of these was said to be kept by a young man who had persuaded or coerced all his sisters into prostitution, and lived on the wages of their infamy. These houses are frequented in open day, and hackney coaches may be seen almost constantly before their doors.

In fact, the total absence of all restraint upon the actions of men here, either legal or moral, occasions such open and unblushing displays of recklessness and profligacy as would hardly be credited if mentioned in detail. Unhappily, too, the influence of this is more or less felt in the deteriorated characters of almost all persons who come often to Washington, or live a long period there. Gentlemen from the northern and eastern states, who before they left their homes were accounted moral, and even pious men, undergo such a change at Washington by a removal of all restraint, that they very often come back quite altered characters; and while they are at Washington, contract habits, the very mention of which is quite revolting to chaste and unpolluted ears.

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 JOSEPH C. LOVEJOY.

There can be no doubt that the existence of slavery in this district has much to do with creating such a state of things as this; and as Washington is one of the great slave-marts of the country, where buyers and sellers of their fellow creatures come to traffic in human flesh, and where men, women, and children are put up to auction

and sold to the highest bidder, like so many head of cattle, this brings together such a collection of speculators, slave-dealers, gamblers, and adventurers as to taint the whole social atmosphere with their vices.

Even the clergy maintain a profound silence on the subject of these enormities, and never mention the subject of slavery in the states where it exists, except to apologize for it or to uphold it, and to deprecate all the "schemes," as they call them, of the abolitionists for hastening the period of its annihilation. So tolerant are the clergy of the south on this subject, that as was shown in the resolutions of the Episcopal Methodist Conference in Georgia, they publicly declare their belief "that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil," and if so, of course they are not called upon to remove it.—*Liberty Standard*.

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### ABEL BROWN.

My spirit cannot rest so long as my brethren are crushed by the iron hoof of oppression. Mr. Jones made many statements that show conclusively that the Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational missionaries, among those tribes of Indians, sustain and uphold negro slavery; and that the missions among the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw Indians, may be truly called slave holding missions!!

The men who have in charge the missionary treasury keep, as far as possible, these *innocent* crimes of robbery, theft, and murder out of the sight of the dear brethren who so freely give their money to spread the gospel. They do this, that they may not offend slaveholders. One reason for this conclusion, may be seen by a simple statement of facts. In the Baptist church, there are over 125,000 members that are slaves, and not more than 10 or 12,000 slaveholders; but this latter class have all the money—therefore, our boards are very careful to keep peace with the masters, even though the slaves are crushed to death. They (the slaves) are not good for any thing—they have no money. I would suggest the propriety of sending out a missionary to labor for the conversion of the missionaries among the Indians in the south-west.—*Tocsin of Liberty*.

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### CHARLES VAN LOON.

This movement (of disunion) takes advantage of the "tide in the affairs" of our country. Men other than abolitionists—politicians aroused by the late superlative insolence of the slave power, are beginning to inquire with anxious solicitude, whether the political economy of such a union as now exists, between the antagonist institutions and interests of the north and south; be not altogether false and absurd—merchants and mechanics, groaning under the pressure of the times—remembering with bitterness, the toil earned, millions sunk in the bottomless gulf of slavery—have grown sick and weary of the connexion. Men, we repeat, other than technical abolitionists, have begun to look with disgust upon this unnatural union of slavery and freedom—this union of a living, breathing being, with a lifeless reeking carcass.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

We might consider moreover; whether the accomplishment of this object, would not be more difficult, than abolition, is under the union, of slavery itself. Whether it would not cost more, to secure this means, than to go on under existing institutions, to the attainment of the grand end. And then we must determine whether this object can be effected, consistently with that moral character, and peaceful spirit, which have ever been the glory of our cause.—*Ibid.*

### WILLIAM L. CHAPLIN.

*Mob in Cincinnati.*—How fallen—pitifully fallen—incurably disgraced—the “Queen of the West!” Queen of mobs and mother of lawless violence and blood! Nothing more natural. A few weeks since her dastardly authorities allowed slave-holders to violate the sanctity of her enclosure by organizing a ferocious mob to insult and injure the friends of freedom—to destroy the great palladium of rights and just liberty—to assault and outrage the inoffensive colored people—to hold the city with its entire population for nearly a week in alarm and consternation from their unrestrained malignity and licentiousness. Why should not the “Bank barons,”—shin plaster gentry take their turn? Why should not any class of citizens fall victims to the same relentless spirit, from whatever cause its ungoverned passions might become exasperated? If precious interests may be disregarded, and unbought rights be trampled upon in the person of the poor, or the black man, why may they not be trodden down with impunity in the case of the rich or the white man? The question need not be put; it is impertinent. All history, experience, and observation teach, that, if we tamely acquiesce in perfidy and outrage practised upon innocent sufferers, we, ourselves, shall sooner or later inevitably become their victims. Not a slave can be held in the United States without putting in peril the freedom and just rights of every other man. Not a mob can be tolerated and allowed to escape “unwhipt of justice,” in any neighborhood of the country without endangering our whole civil fabric. Not one instance of palpable injustice can be spread upon our statute book, without exposing to contamination and rottenness the entire system of legislation.

Undoubtedly the last in the ugly series of Cincinnati mobs, like its predecessors, will find here and there its flimsy apologist. Let the time be long before any other city shall attempt to rival her “bad pre-eminence.”—*American Citizen.*

## PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

"A number of individuals of all sects, and those of no sect,—of all parties, and those of no party—being desirous that the citizens of Philadelphia should possess a room, wherein the principles of *Liberty*, and *Equality of Civil Rights* could be freely discussed, and the evils of slavery fearlessly portrayed, have erected this building, which we are now about to dedicate to Liberty and the Rights of Man. The total cost of the building will be about 40,000 dollars. This has been divided into two thousand shares of twenty dollars each. A majority of the stock-holders are mechanics, or working men, and (as is the case in almost every other good work,) a number are females. The building *is not to be used for anti-slavery purposes alone*. It will be rented from time to time, in such portions as shall best suit applicants, for *any purpose not of an immoral character*. It is called "*Pennsylvania Hall*," in reference to the principles of Pennsylvania, and our motto, like that of the commonwealth, is

"VIRTUE, LIBERTY, AND INDEPENDENCE."

This edifice was erected on the south-west corner of Sixth and Cherry-streets, and was opened on the morning of the 14th of May, 1838, to a vast concourse of the friends of freedom from the city and country; through that and the three succeeding days, there were a variety of addresses and free discussions on Lyceums, Temperance, wrongs of the Aborigines, appeals of Women, and other efforts for the cause of Universal Liberty. On the evening of the 17th, it was assailed and burnt by a cowardly gang of ruffians. The fire companies with their engines had come early upon the ground, but not a drop of water was thrown upon the Hall, till its destruction was ensured beyond possibility of prevention. Till then, the firemen confined their efforts to preserving the surrounding buildings, and such of their number as were disposed to play upon the object of attack, were prevented from doing so by the mob.

The blow has been aimed at the universal rights of man! The sacrifice of a beautiful temple dedicated to liberty, and bearing the motto of our state, "VIRTUE, LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE," has been made to Southern Slavery—to a system whose advocates unblushingly declare that the laborer should every where, at the north as well as the south, in Pennsylvania as well as in Carolina, be made the property of the employer and capitalist.

THE 1st OF AUGUST, 1842, IN PHILADELPHIA.

In the annals of violence in this country, we have no recollection of any thing more cowardly and disgraceful. Cowardly, because the objects of assault were weak and defenceless; and disgraceful, because, if they had been more formidable, and greatly the aggressors, such a mode of punishment could bring with it no honor or applause. It is too obvious, that in a country even as enlightened as this, the moral force of the public opinion is not strong enough to arrest this evil. We suspect that the evil will scarcely find a corrective, until it shall come to be understood as the settled law and practice, that the loss be paid by the city or place of the outrage.—*Albany Argus*.



## ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.

I know that I have the right freely to speak and publish my sentiments, subject only to the laws of the land for the abuse of that right. This right was given me by my Maker, and is solemnly guaranteed to me by the constitution of these United States, and of this state. What I wish to know of you is, whether you will protect me in the exercise of this right, or whether, as heretofore, I am to be subjected to personal indignity and outrage.

I have a family who are dependent on me, and this has been given as a reason why I should be driven off as gently as possible. It is true, I am a husband and a father ; and this it is that adds the bitterest ingredient to the cup of sorrow I am called to drink. I am made to feel the wisdom of the Apostle's advice, "It is better not to marry." I know, that in this contest I stake not my life only, but that of others also. I do not expect my wife will ever recover from the shock received at the awful scenes through which she was called to pass at St. Charles. I am hunted as a partridge on the mountains. I am pursued as a felon through your streets ; to the guardian power of the law I look in vain for that protection against violence, which even the vilest criminal may enjoy. Yet think not that I am unhappy. Think not that I regret the choice that I have made. I have counted the cost, and stand prepared freely to offer up my all in the service of God. Yes, I am fully aware of all the sacrifice I make, in here pledging myself to continue this contest to the last. (Forgive these tears, I had not intended to shed them, and they flow, not for myself, but for others.) But I am commanded to forsake father and mother, and wife and children, for Jesus's sake, and as his professed disciple, I stand pledged to do it. The time for fulfilling this pledge in my case, it seems to me, has come. I dare not flee away from Alton ; should I attempt it, I should feel that the angel of the Lord with his flaming sword was pursuing me wherever I went. It is because I fear God, that I am not afraid of all who oppose me in this city. No, the contest has commenced here, and here it must be finished. Before God and you all, I here pledge myself to continue it, if need be, till death ; and if I fall, my grave shall be made in Alton.—*His last speech before Martyrdom.*

## SOLOMON SOUTHWICK.

One of the grandest exhibitions of moral sublimity, to be found in history, either sacred or profane, was that of Elijah P. Lovejoy, addressing the stern and hostile multitude at Alton, who had assembled a few days before his glorious martyrdom, to pass a resolution for banishing him from that city, without the spirit or the forms of law, justice or equity. Without indictment, trial or conviction, by any legal or authorized tribunal, he was to be sent into exile.

It was on the seventh night of November, 1837, that Mr. Lovejoy was murdered at Alton, (Illinois,) whilst defending the liberty of the press, the right to the peaceable possession of his own property, and the sacred cause of suffering humanity, against an infuriated mob.

Previously from three to four or five thousand men of Alton, and the vicinity, including the virtuous and orderly—if any such there were—with the vicious, disorderly and lawless—had assembled for the unhallowed purpose of sacrificing an honest man, a good citizen, a true patriot and republican, and a faithful servant of God. Such was the man, who with the same unshaken faith, and unsubdued resolution, with which Abraham was ready to sacrifice his beloved son at the command of his Heavenly Father; did nobly and glorious sacrifice, not the life of his son, but his own heart's blood, his own vital spirit, in defending from violation the sacred freedom—(not the unhallowed licentiousness)—of the press; in defending, not merely his own rights and his own property, but the rights and property of every citizen in this union, and of every man throughout the world. Well may we exclaim, that a greater than Alfred, Aristides, or Cicero; yea, a greater than Abraham was here!

He will live in the memory of the enlightened, liberal, just and righteous, of all ages to come; and so long as the chords of the human heart shall vibrate to the voice of LIBERTY, her pilgrims shall be seen bending over his tomb and bedewing it with their tears.






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 THEODORE D. WELD.

The case of Human Rights against Slavery has been adjudicated in the court of conscience times innumerable. The same verdict has always been rendered—"Guilty!" the same sentence has always been pronounced, "Let it be accursed!" and human nature, with her million echoes, has rung it round the world in every language under heaven, "Let it be accursed! Let it be accursed!!" His heart is false to human nature, who will not say "Amen." There is not a man on earth who does not believe that slavery is a curse. Human beings may be inconsistent, but human nature is true to herself. She has uttered her testimony against slavery with a shriek ever since the monster was begotten; and till it perishes amidst the execrations of the Universe, she will traverse the world on its track, dealing her bolts upon its head, and dashing against it her condemning brand. We repeat it, every man knows that slavery is a curse. Whoever denies this, his lips libel his heart. Try him; clank the chains in his ears, and tell him they are for him; give him an hour to prepare his wife and children for a life of slavery; bid him make haste and get ready their necks for the yoke, and their wrists for the coffer chains, then look at his pale lips and trembling knees, and you have Nature's testimony against slavery.

We will prove that the slaves in the United States are treated with barbarous inhumanity; that they are overworked, underfed, wretchedly clad and lodged, and have insufficient sleep; that they are often made to wear round their necks iron collars armed with prongs, to drag heavy chains and weights at their feet while working in the field, and to wear yokes, and bells, and iron horns; that they are often kept confined in the stocks day and night for weeks together, made to wear gags in their mouths for hours or days, have some of their front teeth torn out or broken off, that they may be easily detected when they run away; that they are frequently flogged with terrible severity, have red pepper rubbed into their lacerated flesh, and hot

brine, spirits of turpentine, &c. poured over the gashes to increase the torture ; that they are often stripped naked, their backs and limbs cut with knives, bruised and mangled by scores and hundreds of blows with the paddle, and terribly torn by the claws of cats, drawn over them by their tormentors ; that they are often hunted with blood hounds and shot down like beasts, or torn in pieces by dogs ; that they are often suspended by the arms and whipped and beaten till they faint, and when revived by restoratives, beaten again till they faint, and sometimes till they die ; that their ears are often cut off, their eyes knocked out, their bones broken, their flesh branded with red hot irons ; that they are maimed, mutilated and burned to death over slow fires. All these things, and more, and worse, we shall *prove*, by the testimony of scores and hundreds of eye witnesses, by the testimony of slave-holders in all parts of the slave states, by slaveholding members of congress and of state legislatures, by ambassadors to foreign courts, by judges, by doctors of divinity, and clergymen of all denominations, by merchants, mechanics, lawyers and physicians, by presidents and professors in colleges and professional seminaries, by planters, overseers and drivers. We shall show, not merely that such deeds are committed, but that they are frequent ; not done in corners, but before the sun ; not in one of the slave states, but in all of them ; not perpetrated by brutal overseers and drivers merely, but by magistrates, by legislators, by professors of religion, by preachers of the gospel, by governors of states, by "gentlemen of property and standing," and by delicate females moving in the "highest circles of society."

Tiberius, Claudius, and Caligula, began the exercise of their power with singular forbearance, and each grew into a prodigy of cruelty. So averse was Caligula to bloodshed, that he refused to look at a list of conspirators against his own life, which was handed to him ; yet afterwards, a more cruel wretch never wielded a sceptre. In his thirst for slaughter, he wished all the necks in Rome one, that he might cut them off at a blow.

Domitian, at the commencement of his reign, carried his abhorrence of cruelty to such lengths, that he forbade the sacrificing of oxen, and would sit whole days on the judgment-seat, reversing the the unjust decisions of corrupt judges ; yet afterwards, he surpassed even Nero in cruelty. Commodus began with gentleness and condescension, but soon became a terror and a scourge, outstripping in his atrocities most of his predecessors. Maximinus too, was just and generous when first invested with power, but afterwards rioted in slaughter with the relish of a fiend. History has well said of this monarch, 'the change in his disposition may readily serve to show how dangerous a thing is power, that could transform a person of such rigid virtues into such a monster.'

## HORACE MOULTON.

One slave, who was under my care, was whipped, I think one hundred lashes, for getting a small handful of wood from his master's yard without leave. I heard an overseer boasting to his master that he gave one of the boys seventy lashes, for not doing a job of work just as he thought it ought to be done. The owner of the slave appeared to be pleased that the overseer had been so faithful. The apology they make for whipping so cruelly is, that it is to frighten the rest of the gang. The masters say, that what we call an ordinary flogging will not subdue the slaves; hence the most cruel and barbarous scourgings ever witnessed by man are daily and hourly inflicted upon the naked bodies of these miserable bondmen; not by masters and negro-drivers only, but by the constables in the common markets and jailors in their yards.

It is very common for masters to say to the overseers or drivers, "put it on to them," "don't spare that fellow," "give that scoundrel one hundred lashes," &c. Whipping the women when in delicate circumstances, as they sometimes do, without any regard to their entreaties or the entreaties of their nearest friends, is truly barbarous. If negroes could testify, they would tell you of instances of women being whipped until they have miscarried at the whipping-post. I heard of such things at the south—they are undoubtedly facts. Children are whipped unmercifully for the smallest offences, and that before their mothers. A large proportion of the blacks have their shoulders, backs, and arms all scarred up, and not a few of them have had their heads laid open with clubs, stones, and brick-bats, and with the butt-end of whips and canes—some have had their jaws broken, others their teeth knocked in or out; while others have had their ears cropped and the sides of their cheeks gashed out. Some of the poor creatures have lost the sight of one of their eyes by the careless blows of the whipper, or by some other violence.

But punishing slaves as above described, is not the only mode of torture. Some tie them up in a very uneasy posture, where they must stand all night, and they will then work them hard all day—that is, work them hard all day and torment them all night. Others punish by fastening them down on a log, or something else, and strike them on the bare skin with a board paddle full of holes. This breaks the skin, I should presume, at every hole where it comes in contact with it. Others, when other modes of punishment will not subdue them, cat-haul them—that is, take a cat by the nape of the neck and tail, or by the hind legs, and drag the claws across the back until satisfied. This kind of punishment poisons the flesh much worse than the whip, and is more dreaded by the slave. Some are branded by a hot iron, others have their flesh cut out in large gashes, to mark them. Some who are prone to run away, have iron fetters riveted around their ancles, sometimes they are put only on one foot, and are dragged on the ground. Others have on large iron collars or yokes upon their necks, or clogs riveted upon their wrists or ancles. Some have bells put upon them, hung upon a sort of frame to an iron collar.

Another dark side of slavery is the neglect of the aged and sick. Many when sick, are suspected by their masters of feigning sickness, and are therefore whipped out to work after disease has got fast hold of them; when the masters learn, that they are really sick, they are in many instances left alone in their cabins during work hours; not a few of the slaves are left to die without having one friend to wipe off the sweat of death. When the slaves are sick, the masters do not, as a general thing, employ physicians, but "doctor" them themselves, and their mode of practice in almost all cases is to bleed and give salts.

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### SARAH M. GRIMKE.

A highly intelligent slave, who panted after freedom with ceaseless longings, made many attempts to get possession of himself. For every offence he was punished with extreme severity. At one time he was tied up by his hands to a tree, and whipped until his back was one gore of blood. To this terrible infliction he was subjected at intervals for several weeks, and kept heavily ironed while at his work. His master one day accused him of a fault, in the usual terms dictated by passion and arbitrary power; the man protested his innocence, but was not credited. He again repelled the charge with honest indignation. His master's temper rose almost to frenzy; and seizing a fork, he made a deadly plunge at the breast of his slave. The man being far his superior in strength, caught his arm, and dashed the weapon on the floor. His master grasped at his throat, but the slave disengaged himself, and rushed from the apartment. Having made his escape, he fled to the woods; and after wandering about for many months, living on roots and berries, and enduring every hardship, he was arrested and committed to jail. Here he lay for a considerable time, allowed scarcely food enough to sustain life, whipped in the most shocking manner, and confined in a cell so loathsome, that when his master visited him, he said the stench was enough to knock a man down. The filth had never been removed from the apartment since the poor creature had been immured in it. Although a black man, such had been the effect of starvation and suffering, that his master declared he hardly recognized him—his complexion was so yellow, and his hair, naturally thick and black, had become red and scanty; an infallible sign of long continued living on bad and insufficient food. Stripes, imprisonment, and the gnawings of hunger, had broken his lofty spirit for a season; and, to use his master's own exulting expression, he was "as humble as a dog." After a time he made another attempt to escape, and was absent so long, that a reward was offered for him, dead or alive. He eluded every attempt to take him, and his master, despairing of ever getting him again, offered to pardon him if he would return home. It is always understood that such intelligence will reach the runaway; and accordingly, at the entreaties of his wife and mother, the fugitive once more consented to return to his bitter bondage. I believe this was the last effort to obtain his liberty. His heart became touched with the power of the gospel; and the spirit which no in-

fictions could subdue, bowed at the cross of Jesus, and with the language on his lips—"the cup that my father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" submitted to the yoke of the oppressor, and wore his chains in unmurmuring patience till death released him. The master who perpetrated these wrongs upon his slave, was one of the most influential and honored citizens of South Carolina, and to his equals was bland, and courteous, and benevolent even to a proverb.

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### JOHN GRAHAM.

After the blessing was asked at the breakfast table, one of the servants, a woman grown, in giving one of the children some molasses, happened to pour out a little more than usual, though not more than the child usually eats. Her master was angry at the pettiness and indifferent mistake, or slip of the hand. He rose from the table, took both of her hands in one of his, and with the other began to beat her, first on one side of her head and then on the other, and repeating this, till, as he said on sitting down at table, it hurt his hand too much to continue it longer. He then took off his shoe, and with the heel began in the same manner as with his hand, till the poor creature could no longer endure it without screeches and raising her elbow as it is natural to ward off the blows. He then called a great overgrown negro to hold her hands behind her while he should wreak his vengeance upon the poor servant. In this position he began again to beat the poor suffering wretch. It now became intolerable to bear; she fell, screaming to me for help. After she fell, he beat her until I thought she would have died in his hands. She got up, however, went out and washed off the blood and came in before we rose from table, one of the most pitiable objects I ever saw till I came to the south. Her ears were almost as thick as my hand, her eyes awfully blood-shot, her lips, nose, cheeks, chin, and whole head swollen so that no one would have known it was Etta—and for all this, she had to turn round as she was going out and thank her master!

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### WILLIAM POE.

Benjamin James Harris, a wealthy tobaccoist of Richmond, Virginia, whipped a slave girl fifteen years old to death. While he was whipping her, his wife heated a smoothing iron, put it on her body in various places, and burned her severely. The verdict of the coroner's inquest was, "Died of excessive whipping." He was tried in Richmond, and acquitted. I attended the trial. Some years after, this same Harris whipped another slave to death. The man had not done so much work as was required of him. After a number of protracted and violent scourgings, with short intervals between, the slave died under the lash. Harris was tried, and again acquitted, because none but blacks saw it done. The same man afterwards whipped another slave severely, for not doing work to please him. After repeated and severe floggings in quick succession, for the same cause,

the slave, in despair of pleasing him, cut off his own hand. Harris soon after became a bankrupt, went to New-Orleans to recruit his finances, failed, removed to Kentucky, became a maniac, and died.

### PRIVATIONS OF SLAVES.

By confining the slaves to the southern states, where crops are raised for exportation, and bread and meat are purchased, you doom them to scarcity and hunger. It is proposed to hem in the blacks where they are ill fed.—*Alexander Smyth.*

Speaking of the condition of slaves, in the eastern part of that state, the report says,—The master puts the unfortunate wretches upon short allowances, scarcely sufficient for their sustenance, so that a great part of them go half starved much of the time.—*Gradual Emancipation Soc. N. Carolina.*

The slaves down the Mississippi, are half-starved, the boats when they stop at night, are constantly boarded by slaves, begging for something to eat.—*Tobias Boudinot.*

A few years since, he was at a brick yard in the environs of New-Orleans, in which one hundred hands were employed; among them were from twenty to thirty young women, in the prime of life. He was told by the proprietor, that there had not been a child born among them for the last two or three years, although they all had husbands.—*Hon. H. Clay.*

### JOHN WOOLMAN.

Many of the white people in these provinces, take little or no care of negro marriages; and when negroes marry, after their own way, some make so little account of those marriages, that, with views of outward interest, they often part men from their wives, by selling them far asunder; which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue.

Many whose labor is heavy, being followed at their business in the field by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose,—have, in common, little else allowed them but one peck of Indian corn and some salt for one week, with a few potatoes. (The potatoes they commonly raise by their labor on the first day of the week.) The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe, and sometimes desperate. Men and women have many times scarce clothes enough to hide their nakedness—and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often quite naked among their masters' children. Some use endeavors to instruct those (negro children) they have in reading; but in common, this is not only neglected, but disapproved.

### JAMES K. PAULDING.

The sun was shining out very hot—and in turning the angle of the road, we encountered the following group: first, a little cart drawn by one horse, in which five or six half naked black children

were tumbled like pigs together. The cart had no covering, and they seemed to have been broiled to sleep. Behind the cart marched three black women, with head, neck and breasts uncovered, and without shoes or stockings: next came three men, bare-headed, and chained together with an ox-chain. Last of all, came a white man on horse back, carrying his pistols in his belt, and who, as we passed him, had the impudence to look us in the face without blushing. At a house where we stopped a little further on, we learned that he had bought these miserable beings in Maryland, and was marching them in this manner to one of the more southern states. Shame on the state of Maryland! and I say, shame on the state of Virginia! and every state through which this wretched cavalcade was permitted to pass! I do say, that when they (the slave-holders) permit such flagrant and indecent outrages upon humanity as that I have described; when they sanction a villain, in thus marching half naked women and men, loaded with chains, without being charged with any crime but that of being black, from one section of the United States to another, hundreds of miles in the face of day, they disgrace themselves, and the country to which they belong.—*Letters from the South, First Edition.*

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### STEPHEN SEWALL.

I was witness to such cruelties by an overseer to a slave, that he twice attempted to drown himself, to get out of his power: this was on a raft of staves, in the Mobile river. I saw an owner take his runaway slave, tie a rope round him, then get on his horse, give the slave and horse a cut with the whip, and run the poor creature bare-footed, very fast, over rough ground, where small black jack oaks had been cut up, leaving the sharp stumps, on which the slave would frequently fall; then the master would drag him as long as he could himself hold out; then stop, and whip him up on his feet again—then proceed as before. This continued until he got out of my sight, which was about half a mile. But what further cruelties this wretched man, (whose passion was so excited that he could scarcely utter a word when he took the slave into his own power,) inflicted upon his poor victim, the day of judgment will unfold.

I have seen slaves severely whipped on plantations, but this is an every day occurrence, and comes under the head of general treatment.

I have known the case of a husband compelled to whip his wife. This I did not witness, though not two rods from the cabin at the time.

I will now mention the case of cruelty before referred to. In 1820 or 21, while the public works were going forward on Dauphin Island, Mobile Bay, a contractor, engaged on the works, beat one of his slaves so severely that the poor creature had no longer power to writhe under his suffering: he took out his knife, and began to cut his flesh in strips, from his hips down. At this moment the gentleman referred to, who was also a contractor, shocked at such inhumanity, stepped forward, between the wretch and his victim, and ex-

claimed, 'If you touch that slave again you do it at the peril of your life.' The slave-holder raved at him for interfering between him and his slave; but he was obliged to drop his victim, fearing the arm of my friend—whose stature and physical powers were extraordinary.

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### COLMAN S. HODGES.

I have frequently seen the mistress of a family in Virginia, with whom I was well acquainted, beat the woman who performed the kitchen work, with a stick two feet and a half long, and nearly as thick as my wrist; striking her over the head, and across the small of the back, as she was bent over at her work, with as much spite as you would a snake, and for what I should consider no offence at all. There lived in this same family a young man, a slave, who was in the habit of running away. He returned one time after a week's absence. The master took him into the barn, stripped him entirely naked, tied him up by his hands so high that he could not reach the floor, tied his feet together, and put a small rail between his legs, so that he could not avoid the blows, and commenced whipping him. He told me that he gave him five hundred lashes. At any rate, he was covered with wounds from head to foot. Not a place as big as my hand but what was cut. Such things as these are perfectly common all over Virginia; at least so far as I am acquainted. Generally, planters avoid punishing their slaves before strangers.

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### JOSEPH IDE.

I have never actually witnessed a whipping scene, for they are usually taken into some back place for that purpose; but I have often heard their groans and screams while writhing under the lash; and have seen the blood flow from their torn and lacerated skins after the vengeance of the inhuman master or mistress had been glutted. Mrs. T——, had a female slave whom she used to whip unmercifully, and on one occasion, she whipped her as long as she had strength, and after the poor creature was suffered to go, she crawled off into a cellar. As she did not immediately return, search was made, and she was found dead in the cellar, and the horrid deed was kept a secret in the family, and it was reported that she died of sickness. This wretch at the same time was a member of a Presbyterian church. Towards her slaves she was certainly the most cruel wretch of any woman with whom I was ever acquainted—yet she was nothing more than a slaveholder. She would deplore slavery as much as I did, and often told me she was much of an abolitionist as I was. She was constant in the declaration that her kind treatment to her slaves was proverbial. Thought I, then the Lord have mercy on the rest. She has often told me of the cruel treatment of the slaves on a plantation adjoining her father's in the low country of South Carolina. She says she has often seen them driven to the necessity of eating frogs and lizards to sustain life.

## PHINEAS SMITH.

Avarice and cruelty constitute the very gist of the whole slave system. Many of the enormities committed upon the plantations will not be described till God brings to light the hidden things of darkness; then the tears and groans and blood of innocent men, women and children will be revealed, and the oppressor's spirit must confront that of his victim.

An overseer by the name of Alexander, notorious for his cruelty, was found dead in the timbered lands of the Brassos. It was supposed that he was murdered, but who perpetrated the act was unknown. Two black men were however seized, taken into the Prairie and put to the torture. A physician by the name of Parrott from Tennessee, and another from New-England by the name of Anson Jones, were present on this occasion. The latter gentleman is now the Texan minister plenipotentiary to the United States, and resides at Washington. The unfortunate slaves being stripped, and all things arranged, the torture commenced by whipping upon their bare backs. Six athletic men were employed in this scene of inhumanity, the names of some of whom I well remember. There was one of the name of Brown, and one or two of the name of Patton. Those six executioners were successively employed in cutting up the bodies of these defenceless slaves, who persisted to the last in the avowal of their innocence. The bloody whip was however kept in motion till savage barbarity itself was glutted. When this was accomplished, the bleeding victims were re-conveyed to the inclosure of the mansion house where they were deposited for a few moments. 'The dying groans however incommoding the ladies, they were taken to a back shed where one of them soon expired.' The life of the other slave was for a time despaired of, but after hanging over the grave for months, he at length so far recovered as to walk about and labor at light work. These facts cannot be controverted. They were disclosed under the solemnity of an oath, at Columbia, in a court of justice. I was present, and shall never forget them. The testimony of Drs. Parrott and Jones was most appalling. I seem to hear the death-groans of that murdered man. His cries for mercy and protestations of innocence fell upon adamantine hearts. The facts above stated, and others in relation to this scene of cruelty came to light in the following manner. The master of the murdered man commenced legal process against the actors in this tragedy for the recovery of the value of the chattel, as one would institute a suit for a horse or an ox that had been unlawfully killed. It was a suit for the recovery of damages merely. No indictment was ever dreamed of. Among the witnesses brought upon the stand in the progress of this cause were the physicians, Parrott and Jones above named. The part which they were called to act in this affair was, it is said, to examine the pulse of the victims during the process of torture. But they were mistaken as to the quantum of torture which a human being can undergo and not die under it.

## PHILEMON BLISS.

I have seen a woman, a mother, compelled, in the presence of her master and mistress, to hold up her clothes, and endure the whip of the driver on the naked body for more than twenty minutes, and while her cries would have rent the heart of any one, who had not hardened himself to human suffering, her master and mistress were conversing with apparent indifference. What was her crime? She had a task given her of sewing which she must finish that day. Late at night she finished it; but the stitches were too long, and she must be whipped. The same was repeated three or four nights for the same offence. I have seen a man tied to a tree, hands and feet, and receive 305 blows with the paddle on the fleshy parts of the body. Two others received the same kind of punishment at the time, though I did not count the blows. One received 230 lashes. Their crime was stealing mutton. I have frequently heard the shrieks of the slaves, male and female, accompanied by the strokes of the paddle or whip, when I have not gone near the scene of horror. I knew not their crimes, excepting of one woman, which was stealing four potatoes to eat with her bread! The more common number of lashes inflicted was fifty or eighty; and this I saw not once or twice, but so frequently that I can not tell the number of times I have seen it. So frequently, that my own heart was becoming so hardened that I could witness with comparative indifference, the female writhe under the lash, and her shrieks and cries for mercy ceased to pierce my heart with that keenness, or give me that anguish which they first caused. It was not always that I could learn their crimes; but of those I did learn, the most common was non-performance of tasks. I have seen men strip and receive from one to three hundred strokes of the whip and paddle. My studies and meditations were almost nightly interrupted by the cries of the victims of cruelty and avarice.

## JAMES A. THOME.

In December of 1833, I landed at New-Orleans, in the steamer W—. It was after night, dark and rainy. The passengers were called out of the cabin, from the enjoyment of a fire, which the cold, damp atmosphere rendered very comfortable, by a sudden shout of, 'catch him—catch him—catch the negro.' The cry was answered by a hundred voices—'Catch him—kill him!

After standing in the cold water for an hour, the miserable being began to fail. We observed him gradually sinking—his voice grew weak and tremulous—yet he continued to curse! In the midst of his oaths he uttered broken sentences.—'I didn't steal the meat—I didn't steal—my master lives—master—master lives up the river—(his voice began to gurgle in his throat, and he was so chilled that his teeth chattered audibly)—I didn't—steal—I didn't steal—my—my master—my—I want to see my master—I didn't—no—my mas—you want—you want to kill me—I didn't steal the'—His last words could just be heard as he sunk under the water.

During this indescribable scene, not one of the hundred that stood

around made any effort to save the man until he was apparently drowned. He was then dragged out and stretched on the bow of the boat, and soon sufficient means were used for his recovery. The brutal captain ordered him to be taken off his boat—declaring, with an oath, that he would throw him into the river again, if he was not immediately removed. I withdrew, sick and horrified with this appalling exhibition of wickedness.

Upon inquiry, I learned that the colored man lived some fifty miles up the Mississippi; that he had been charged with stealing some article from the wharf; was fired upon with a pistol, and pursued by the mob.

In reflecting upon this unmingled cruelty—this insensibility to suffering and disregard of life—I exclaimed, ‘Is there no flesh in man’s obdurate heart?’ One poor man, chased like a wolf by a hundred blood hounds, yelling, howling, and gnashing their teeth upon him—plunges into the cold river to seek protection! A crowd of spectators witness the scene, with all the composure with which a Roman populace would look upon a gladiatorial show. Not a voice heard in the sufferer’s behalf. At length the powers of nature give way; the blood flows back to the heart—the teeth chatter—the voice trembles and dies, while the victim drops down into his grave.

What an atrocious system is that which leaves two millions of souls, friendless and powerless—hunted and chased—afflicted and tortured and driven to death, without the means of redress. Yet such is the system of slavery!

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### JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

Comforts of the negroes. Nothing can be farther from my wish, than to heap abuse on the slave-holders of the southern states. Those with whom I have become acquainted, are amiable and benevolent men, and I give them full credit for kindness and consideration in the treatment of their slaves.

I am very much mistaken, if, under the circumstances, happiness is not the exception—discomfort the general rule. Ignorance of his own nature and destiny, is the only condition, as I believe, in which a slave can be permanently comfortable. But the infractions of comfort, to which the slaves of North America are liable, are too notorious to be disputed. The treatment of them, as it regards food and raiment, must and will depend, not merely on the dispositions, but on the means of their masters. The want of ready money, in the slave-holder, often bears more severely on the slave than the want of kindness. Again, we well know that masters are sometimes driven for many months from their properties, by the insalubrity of the location, and that the slaves are left under the care of overseers—persons of sufficiently low grade, to be induced to risk their lives, for a pecuniary compensation. This must be a fruitful source of suffering.

In order to form a correct view, however, on the present subject, it is enough for me to recur to scenes which I have myself witnessed. Although, in travelling through some of your slave states, I have

often observed the negroes well clad, and in good bodily condition, their general aspect has not appeared to me to be that of happiness. Seldom have I seen anything among them, like the cheerful smile of the peasant of Jamaica; and sometimes, they have been half-naked, and wretched in their demeanor. When I saw large companies of black people following either the masters who owned them, or the merchants who had bought them, to some distant state, the lame ones compelled to keep up with their associates, and yet limping behind from very weakness—when, in one of the sea islands of South Carolina, I look on a gang of them, ginning cotton, working as if they were on the tread wheel, their sweat falling from them like rain, and the overseer sitting by, with his cow-hide alongside of him—when, in the negro jail at Charleston, I was surrounded by a large number of negroes, who had been sent thither, without any intervention of law or magistracy, but at the sole will of their holders, to be punished on the tread wheel, or with whipping (not exceeding fifteen lashes,) according to directions on an accompanying ticket—when, lastly, in the iron-grated depot at Baltimore, I visited the poor creatures who had been sold away from their families and friends, and were about to be transmitted, on speculation, like so many bales of cotton or worsted, to the far-distant South—when these scenes passed, one after another, in review before me, it was impossible for me to think highly of the comforts of your enslaved negroes.

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#### DAVID WALKER.

The Pagan, Jews and Mahometans try to make proselytes to their religions and whatever human beings adopt their religions they extend to them their protection. But christian Americans, not only hinder their fellow creatures, the Africans, but thousands of them will absolutely beat a colored person nearly to death, if they catch him on his knees, supplicating the throne of grace. This barbarous cruelty was by all the heathen nations of antiquity, and is by the Pagans, Jews and Mahometans of the present day, left entirely to christian Americans to inflict on the Africans and their descendants, that their cup which is nearly full may be completed. I have known tyrants or usurpers of human liberty in different parts of this country to take their fellow creatures, the colored people, and beat them until they would scarcely leave life in them; what for? Why they say "The black devils had the audacity to be found making prayers and supplications to the God who made them!!!" Yes, I have known small collections of colored people to have convened together, for no other purpose than to worship God Almighty, in spirit and in truth, to the best of their knowledge; when tyrants, calling themselves patrols, would also convene and wait almost in breathless silence for the poor colored people to commence singing and praying to the Lord our God; as soon as they had commenced, the wretches would burst in upon them and drag them out and commence beating them as they would rattle-snakes—many of whom, they would beat so unmercifully, that they would hardly be able to crawl for weeks and sometimes for months.—*Appeal.*

## "AMALGAMATION!"

What is slavery? It is a system of general licentiousness! wholesale amalgamation! The Western Luminary, a Kentucky paper, says, "universal licentiousness prevails among the slaves. Chastity is no virtue among them; its violation neither injures female character in their own estimation, or that of their master or mistress: no instruction is ever given, no censure pronounced. I speak not of the world: I speak of Christian families generally." James A. Thome of Kentucky, says, "It is a well known fact that the slave lodgings, (in villages) are exposed to the entrance of strangers every hour of the night, and that the sleeping apartment of both sexes are common." The Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in their Report, Dec. 1833, stated as follows: "Chastity in either sex, is a rare virtue. Such is the universality and greatness of the vice of lewdness, that to those who are acquainted with slave countries, not a word need be said; all the consequences of this vice are to be seen, not excepting infanticide itself." The Rev. J. D. Paxton, of Virginia, (now missionary in Palestine,) says, "The condition of the females is such (under irresponsible absolute power of their owners) that promises, and threatenings, and management can hardly fail to conquer them. They are entirely dependent on their master." Hear, hear, ye northern mothers, who have slave-holding sons! "And that licentiousness prevails to a most shameful extent, is proved from the rapid increase of mulattoes!" The law is all on the side of the master or white, for "any slave, male or female, or any negro, bond or free, to resist or strike a white person in Georgia, he or she shall have their ears cropt." (Stroud's Law, page 97.) In Kentucky they shall have 30 lashes on their bare back. In Georgia, for the first offence any punishment not extending to life or limb, and death for the second offence. (Prince's Digest, 450.)

Public opinion at the south favors licentiousness and amalgamation. Mr. Madison avowed that "the licentiousness of Virginia plantations, stopped just short of destruction; and that it was understood that the female slaves were to become mothers at fifteen." Thomas Jefferson Kandolph declared in the Virginia House of Delegates, that "Virginia was one grand menagerie, where men are to be reared for market, like oxen for the shambles;" "and that some of the best blood of Virginia runs in the veins of their slaves."

Miss Martineau, in her "Views of Society in America" says, a southern clergyman declared "that the very general connexion of white gentlemen with their female slaves, introduced a mulatto race whose numbers would become dangerous, if the affections of their white parents were permitted to render them free; and many were waiting until the amalgamation of the races should involve a sufficient number to put an end to slavery"!—Furthermore, "the wife of a planter in the bitterness of her heart declared, that a planter's wife was only "the chief slave of the harem," Hear, hear! ye mothers, who think it would be a pretty thing for your daughters to marry slave-holders, and have slaves to wait upon them: "Every young man in New-Orleans, early selects a beautiful quadron girl

## AMALGAMATION.

for his mistress, and establishes her in one of those pretty peculiar houses, whole rows of which may be seen in the ramparts!" How is it with northern young men who go to the south, and "buy themselves female domestics, as is of every day's occurrence." This is one of the peculiarities of the southern institutions. It is a very convenient, fashionable, and profitable way of increasing their stock of human chattles! Hear Mr. Gholson of Virginia, in the Legislature of that State, Jan. 18, 1831, reported in the Richmond Whig. "It has always been considered by steady, old fashioned people, that the owners of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits; the owner of orchards to their annual fruits; the owner of brood mares to their product; and the owner of female slaves to their increase! and I do not hesitate to say that in their increase consists much of our wealth!" Henry Clay, before the Colonization Society, in 1829, says, "It is believed that nowhere in the farming portion of the United States, would slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to RAISE SLAVES BY THE HIGH PRICE OF THE SOUTHERN MARKET, WHICH KEEPS IT UP IN HIS OWN."

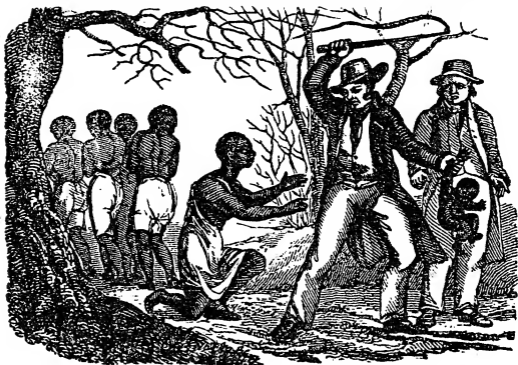
In 1836, 40,000 slaves were sold out of Virginia at an average price of \$600. Rev. J. W. Douglass, of Fayetteville, N. C. says, upwards of 60,000 passed through a little western town for southern market, in 1835. What a speculation for slave breeders! and temptation for Yankees who go to the south to get money, and buy female domestics!! S. A. Forral, Esq. says "negresses when young and likely, are often a matter of speculation, 800 or 1000 dollars being obtained for them. It is an occurrence of no uncommon nature to see a Christian (?) father sell his own daughter and the brother his own sister by the same father!" A northern merchant, while on a business tour at the south, lately wrote a letter to his partners saying "he had seen a young woman sold at public auction for seven thousand and five hundred dollars!" The purchaser, a young man, declared he would give ten thousand dollars rather than lose her! Whether the sale was made "on northern account" we are not informed.

Perhaps wives, mothers and daughters at the north may try to believe that their husbands, sons and lovers, are proof against the enticements and destructive influences of the "peculiar institutions of the south?" How is it? do we not hear them pleading for them; telling what a good institution slavery is; sanctioned by the Bible; a good old, oriental patriarchal system of concubinage? And if decency would permit, facts might be adduced to show how northern men are implicated in the slave-holding licentiousness of the south, that would make the ears of northern mothers and wives tingle. Thomas Jefferson says, "that man must be a prodigy, who, surrounded by such circumstances, can retain his manners and morals undepraved." Would not northern churches, wives, mothers and daughters, do well to be jealous of those who go from the north into the "den of sorrows," the slave-holding states? Can a man go upon hot coals and his feet be not burned?—*Charter Oak.*

AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS.

CUSTOMS of the modern "PATRIARCHS" and "CHIVALRY" of  
"the LAND of the FREE, and the HOME of the BRAVE!"

"COLUMBIA! COLUMBIA!! TO GLORY ARISE!!"



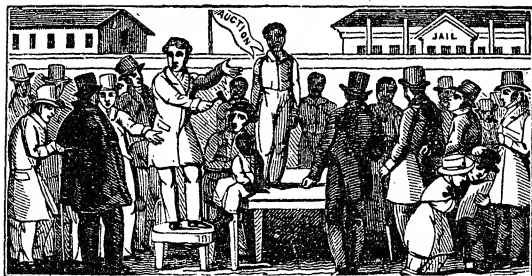
*Can a mother forget her suckling child?*



*The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.*



*The Domestic Slave Trade.*



*The custom in Washington, Capital of U. S*



*Abhorrence of the African color and smell.*



*Letting the oppressed go free.*



*Southern Court of Law and Equity.*



*Cruel and unusual punishment shall not be inflicted.—U. S. Con.*

AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS.



*On the side of the Oppressors there was power.*



*The officer of Justice! arresting a helpless female fugitive in N. Y.  
What has the North to do with Slavery?*



*Take them back ; I am faithful to my brethren and my God.*

With the scenes of Anglo-Saxon tyranny and baseness, contrasts as an Oasis, this of Afric-American magnanimity. While the name and memory of Napoleon Bonaparte will be execrated, ever venerated will be that of **TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.**

The George Washington of St. Domingo, gave union, energy, and a wise constitution, to his countrymen. By his bravery he repelled every foe, and put an end to civil and insurrectionary wars. When Bonaparte sent an immense armament, in 1802, to bring the people back to the old yoke, he was firmly seated in their affections, and relying in him, they bid defiance to their invaders.

Seven years previous to this, Toussaint sent his sons, to Paris for education. They were put under the care of a tutor, named Coisson. Bonaparte used this man as a tool to prepare the boys for his purpose. The tutor and his charge having been sent out with Le Clerc, Coisson wrote saying, "the first Consul sends by me your two sons, and certain important despatches. Your sons will be with you to-morrow, provided you will give me your word that in the result of your not complying with the wishes of the first Consul, they shall be safely returned with me to the Cape." Toussaint gave his word, and, on the morrow, the boys, accompanied by Coisson, were with their fond parents. Toussaint had now a choice of three things. He might break his word and keep his sons ; he might comply with the wishes of Bonaparte and keep them ; or he might send them back. He would neither break his word, nor sell his country, and therefore chose to send them back.

## WILLIAM EUSTIS.

The colored soldiers in Rhode Island formed an entire regiment, and they discharged their duty with zeal and fidelity. The gallant defence of Red Bank, in which the Black Regiment bore a part, is among the proofs of their valor. Among the traits which distinguished this regiment was their devotion to their officers. When their brave Colonel Green was afterwards cut down and mortally wounded, the sabres of the enemy only reached him through the bodies of his faithful guard of blacks, whom he was not ashamed to call his children. They hovered over him to protect him—*every one of them was killed*. The venerable Dr. HARRIS, of New-Hampshire, adds; there was, a regiment of blacks in the same situation—a regiment of negroes fighting for our liberty and independence—not a white man among them but the officers—in the most dangerous and responsible position. Had they been unfaithful, or given way before the enemy, all would have been lost. Three times in succession were they attacked with most desperate fury by well disciplined and veteran troops, and three times did they successfully repel the assault, and thus preserve an army. They fought thus through the war. They were brave and hardy troops.

## JOHN T. NORTON.

There are not many colored people in England, but I see one or more every day. And where do you think I see them? The first that I saw was a mulatto woman walking arm in arm with a gentleman in Hyde Park. The next was an African man, entirely at home in an omnibus filled with white gentlemen and ladies. The next was an elegantly dressed and beautiful young lady, sitting by the side of a white lady, on terms of perfect equality, in one of the most splendid coaches in Hyde Park, with liveried servants. Yesterday, whilst riding in an omnibus in Regent-street, a colored young woman beckoned to the driver, and he stopped and opened the door at once. She did not get in, as she found it was not going where she wished to go. This afternoon I attended the church in Blackfriars, formerly Rowland Hill's. The largest and most respectable and solemn audience was present that I ever witnessed—the sexton told me four thousand. On looking around, I saw a head and face that marked the purest African descent. Was he perched up in a corner? No: he was in a pew, near the middle of the church. On my walk home, I saw a black man with an elegantly dressed white lady leaning on his arm, and immediately following them, a white and black gentleman arm in arm. I followed them a little, and soon, on coming to another street, the lady shook hands cordially with the two black gentlemen, (for they had every appearance of such,) and they both put their arms into the white gentleman's and walked on. What I noticed most particularly in all these cases was, that not the least attention was attracted. I could not perceive that an individual besides myself, knew that there was any difference in the colors. So it ought to be. The *character*, the character alone, should be the test.

## NATHANIEL PAUL.

We are bold to affirm that the christian, the patriot, and the gentleman will esteem others according to their moral worth. If sobriety, industry and prudence characterizes their conduct, it follows as a necessary consequence, that they will be respected by men possessing like virtues.

I cannot therefore believe, that our cause is altogether so hopeless in this country, as is pretended, nor will I yet despair of our ultimate success, in obtaining the object of our desire, an equal standing with the rest of community. And with an eye to this mark, as long as the vital fluid courses through the channels, that nature's God has provided, and I have a voice that can be heard, feeble as that voice may be, it shall be raised to encourage every descendant of Africa, to press his way through every obstacle, until this object is obtained, and he finds his standing firmly established upon this hallowed ground. The time has been, when the sight of a Quaker or a Baptist, was more obnoxious to a New-England Puritan, than a black face is now to a Southern Nabob, and yet they have outlived the storm and now are quite as respectable as their neighbors.

Permit me to urge upon your attention, by every consideration that is connected with the present and eternal welfare of your offspring, the importance of their education. I do not mean to insist on their being instructed in the higher branches of classical literature, except in certain cases, where a child manifests a genius and taste for science, but I mean in its elementary branches—I mean that education, which shall enable your children to transact with accuracy, the common business of life; and of such importance do I view this subject, that had I children, and found it necessary, I would rise before the dawn of the morning, and the midnight watches should find my hands employed; I would eat but a scanty allowance of bread and water, and wear the coarsest attire, rather than fail of accomplishing so desirable an object; I would break through every obstacle, and place my children as soon as they were capable of receiving instruction, at some hallowed fountain, from which issues forth the streams of useful learning.

The law of custom has hitherto confined us to a narrow sphere of action; and many even now seem unwilling that we should arise above it, but as long as the agricultural and mechanical branches of business are within our reach, why should we not avail ourselves of their benefits. No branches of business are more respectable; and no class of citizens are more useful and independent, we would therefore urge on you the importance of placing your sons, at a proper age, in a situation where they may obtain a knowledge of some one of the various branches of mechanical art; or with the agriculturist to learn to till the earth, and gather its precious fruits; and let your daughters learn to use the needle, and to lay their hands to the spindle, and their hands hold of the distaff, to make fine linen for their covering, and girdles for the merchant.—*Address on the Abolition of Slavery in New-York.*

Mr. Paul was of respectable parentage so far as exemplary con

duct and moral worth may be said to constitute genuine respectability. His father partook of the hardships of the revolution of '76, but not of all the blessings of liberty secured to his white countrymen. He came to Albany in 1820, and to the latest period of his mortal existence, he never lost sight of the interests of the colored people. He promoted their moral and religious instruction, inculcated habits of industry, order, and sobriety, and taught them to respect themselves. He travelled not less than five thousand miles in collecting funds to pay off the debt incurred by the erection of the Hamilton street (Baptist) Church, in which he officiated as pastor.

Many of the free colored people of Ohio, who were in 1829, expelled by the cruel and oppressive laws of that state, had effected a promising settlement in Upper Canada. Mr. Paul repaired to this new colony, to aid in the early establishment of moral and religious institutions. Sir John Colburn strongly urged him to visit England, and make known the situation of his people, and secure the interest of the home government on their behalf. This mission to England promised favorably; the society of friends at Bristol, agreed at once to raise one thousand pounds, for the benefit of the Wilberforce colony, but news arriving that the settlers were in a disorderly state, the subscription was discontinued. Though he experienced a pecuniary loss by this mission, philanthropy gained. During his sojourn in England, he assiduously opposed the enormous pretensions of the American colonization society, until the arrival of Mr. Garrison, by whom the triumph was consummated, and the monster colonization prostrated in G. Britain. In 1832, Mr. Paul was summoned to give evidence on the subject of slavery, before a select committee of the House of Commons; his evidence was regarded by that honorable body as highly satisfactory and important, and contributed to the abolition of West India slavery.—*Life, by Mrs. Anne Paul.*

### CHARLES LENOX REMOND.

What does the American Union mean? Nothing more than this, that the twenty-six states of America are joined together in government and civil rights. The union is but a parchment document, and as there is no hill so lofty that it may not be surmounted, no space of ocean so boundless that it may not be traversed, there is nothing more possible than that the union might be dissolved. But is it probable? Suppose that the union were dissolved to-morrow, by what power or agency, let me ask, would it be possible for the holders to retain their slaves greater in number than themselves? [Loud cries of 'hear, hear.'] To whom should the slave-holders look for sympathy, co-operation, and support, in their endeavors to keep these wretches in bondage? Will they look to the free states? Certainly not, for the very deed of dissolution precludes the possibility of that. Will they look to Mexico? No; for the Mexicans regard them with an eye of the rankest jealousy. Will they look to Canada? The thought is absurd. Will they look to the West Indies? What! ask men who are themselves but just liberated to aid in forging chains for

other wretches ! Who will believe it ? Spain is the only land to which they can turn their eyes ; but Spain has her own foes to trouble her, and the demon of slavery lurks within her own confines. Where, then, will they look for sympathy, and whither will they fly for aid ? (Hear.) The moment when the American union is dissolved, that instant the power of the slave-holder is prostrated in the dust. Hopeless, helpless, friendless, they become an isolated class of beings, having nothing to depend on but their own strength, and that is weakness indeed. Then will rouse the crushed worm, turning on its torturer, and, in the fierce indignation of outraged men, the slaves will demand the right of measuring arms with their masters. [Immense cheering.]

I do not think I shall myself live to see that day, but that such would be the effect of a dissolution of the American union I feel confidently assured, (hear.) Where is the man, who, if asked to become a slave, would not hurl back the offer indignantly in the teeth of the oppressor ? Nay, where is the woman—where the child ? The slaves of the United States are men, women, and children ; and that they are as worthy this appellation, nay, worthier, perhaps, than the denizens of more favored lands, is amply testified by their patient and enduring conduct under contumely and outrage, for they, like yourselves, have preferred rather to suffer wrong, than to do wrong.—*Speech at Dublin.*

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SAMUEL E. CORNISH,  
AND  
THEODORE S. WRIGHT.

The Colonization society was scarcely known to have been organized, before its object was protested against, in a public meeting of the free colored people of Richmond, Va. Not long after, (in August, 1817,) the largest meeting ever yet held of the colored people of the free states—the number being computed at 3000—came together in Philadelphia, to consider the colonization scheme. Mr. James Forten, a man distinguished not only for his wealth and successful industry, but for his sufferings in the revolutionary war, presided at its deliberations. After ample time allowed for duly considering every benefit which colonization held out to the colored people, there was not a single voice in that vast assembly which was not raised for its decisive, thorough condemnation.

Meetings of a similar kind were held in Washington city, in Baltimore, New-York, Providence, Boston,—indeed, in all the cities, and in most of the large towns, throughout the free states. The abhorrence which was generally expressed of the whole scheme proved, that those to whose acceptance it was offered regarded it but as little more merciful than death. From the earliest period of those public meetings up to this time, we fearlessly assert, that no credible testimony can be adduced, showing, that there has been any abatement in the repugnance of the colored people to colonization. In January, 1839, a large public meeting was held in this city, at which the following expression of sentiment was unanimously given :

"Whereas, we, the people of color, citizens of New-York, feel and know that the American 'Colonization society' is the source whence proceed most of the various proscriptions and oppressions under which we groan and suffer;—and believing, that the most efficient remedy we can apply, is, to reiterate the sentiments which we have, at all times and places, heretofore entertained and expressed—thereby showing, that our present opposition is not of late origin, but of as long standing as the existence of the scheme itself; and believing also, that when our opinions are known, the blighting influences of that unhallowed offspring of slavery cannot so successfully be exercised against us:—we therefore, in solemn meeting assembled, do deliberately and unanimously enter our protest against the whole scheme."

The colonization scheme was set on foot, and is yet maintained by slave-holders, with the view, as they have not been backward to declare, of perpetuating their system of slavery, undisturbed. From the first, no very high expectations seem to have been entertained, that an enterprise, so unnecessary, so unnatural, so condemned by the most elemental truths of political economy, so profitless, so perilous, bearing about it so little of hope, so much of despair, would commend itself strongly to that class of the community to which it purported solely to be addressed. But little reliance appears to have been placed on obtaining their voluntary consent to exchange for the fens and morasses of barbarous and heathen Africa, this, the country of their fathers for generations, and of their own nativity—where land was abundant and cheap—where labor was in demand and its rewards sure—where education could be obtained, albeit, for the most part, with difficulty—where the common ordinances of religion, as well as its higher institutions were established—where every interest had the promise of advancement—and where, notwithstanding they were called to suffer many ills brought on them by others, they might yet live in hope, that the dark cloud of slavery which had so long obscured the free principles asserted by our governments, would one day pass away and permit these principles to shine in all their warmth and effulgence, if not on themselves, on no very distant generation of their descendants.

Whatever individual exceptions there may exist among slave-holders on the score of goodness and gentleness, yet as an embodied interest, they know no retiring ebb when moving upon objects connected with their atrocious system. The political history of the country, from the time when South Carolina and Georgia refused to enter the union, unless the traffic in human flesh should be secured to them for twenty years, proves this. Their struggle and their triumph on the Missouri question proves this. Their fierce onset—guilefully laid aside, not abandoned—to add Texas to our territory, with the audaciously avowed purpose of strengthening and perpetuating the slave-system, proves this.

Prejudice! What is it? Lexicographers tell us, it is a decision of the mind formed without due examination of the facts or arguments which are necessary to a just and impartial determination. And prejudice against color! What does this mean? You who are sensible—learned men. Pray, instruct us in this mystery of slave-

holding philosophy—scarcely spoken of in Britain, wholly unknown and unfelt among the learned, the wise, the refined of France and the other nations of Europe. Can prejudice exist against that which has in it nothing of the moral or the intellectual? Is it a down right absurdity to say of men, that they are prejudiced against sound or sight—against the earth, or the sea, or the air, or light? And is it a less one to say, that they are prejudiced against color?

But an existing state of things does not imply, that it is to be permanent, much less perpetual. Not very long ago, throughout Europe, there was a strong prejudice existing against the Jews. In many respects, they were as evil-entreated as we are. They were not unfrequently banished from the countries in which they were born and brought up. Their persecutors had all the advantage of the argument based on "existing" prejudice: and it is no means unlikely, that the most religious of them may have advanced it, out of pure compassion to these unhappy people, and in order to reconcile to their own consciences what, without some pretext of good, would have appeared an act of injustice and cruelty. But this prejudice against the Jews shows no signs of perpetuating itself. It is rapidly giving way before the influence of a religious and philosophical age; the Jews are fast acquiring civil privileges; are aspiring to a higher tone of character and morals, and beginning to be esteemed, as other men are, according to their merits. But in what light are their persecutors viewed? Either as exceedingly wicked or foolish, and often both.

Besides, where are the proofs of warm regard for our happiness on the part of colonizationists? Have they aided and encouraged us in the education of our children? No! They say we ought not to be encouraged to this, because it would induce us to remain here. Have they sought to secure to us those political and civil privileges and rights, without which, in their own case, they would look on themselves as grievously oppressed? No! They say our present disabilities "ought to be maintained in all their rigor." Have they periled for us their lives, or their persons, or their reputations, or their property? If so, say when,—where. Have they protected and comforted us when assailed by the most brutal persecutions? Tell us the occasions; we can recall none such. Have they once rebuked the slave-holder, our envenomed enemy, for his pitiless oppression of our brethren? No! But they have made of him an ally in the work of benevolence projected for us,—and to show him with what entire good faith they intend to perform their part of the covenant, they have united with him in proclaiming to the world, that we are "of all descriptions of our population the most corrupt, depraved and abandoned."—*Colonization considered.*



## ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

I do not conceive how you can preserve the title of citizen of a nation at peace, harmony and friendship with Mexico, while, at the same time, you endeavor to do her all the harm in your power, and to cut off from her a part of its territory, by means you have employed with such singular activity. This species of impudence with which you represent yourself as a citizen of the United States, excites vivid recollections that your countrymen first commenced the war; introduced disorder into Texas and still maintain it, in scandalous violation of the treaties which should, in good faith, unite the two nations. But leaving this examination to the criticism of the civilized world, which is ignorant neither of the origin, nor the tendencies of the usurpation of Texas, I will quickly show you, that you are mistaken, and that too, greatly, in supposing Mexico deficient either in strength or the will to maintain her incontestible rights.

We have fully weighed the actual and the possible value of the territory of Texas, the advantage accruing to Mexico by retaining it in possession, and still more by the precarious situation to which she would find herself reduced were she to permit a colossus to arise within her own limits, always ready to advance, and covetous to obtain new acquisitions by the rite title of theft and usurpation: but even were the soil of Texas a mere desert of sand, unproductive save of thorns to wound the foot of the traveller, this plain, useless, sterile and unproductive, should be defended with energy and constancy, under the conviction that the possession of a right imposes upon a nation the necessity of never abandoning it, with shame and disgrace to her name.

I promised in Texas, beneath the rifles of the tumultuary (tumultuous) soldiers, who surrounded me, that I would procure a hearing for their commissioners from my Government, and would exercise my influence to prevent, for the time being, a fatal struggle; and this promise, whose object was to secure, without molestation, the retreat which the Mexican army had already commenced, and which I learned with the greatest sorrow from General Wall, natu-

rally remained without effect, from sad consideration as prisoner ; because the aggressions of the Texians removed even the possibility of lightening the evils of war, and because they failed themselves, in their promises, they annulled the resolutions of him whom they called their cabinet, they caused me violently to disembark from the schooner *Invincible* ; and abandoned me to the excited passions of one hundred and thirty recruits just arrived from New-Orleans.

In a different point of view, the question of Texas involves another of the greatest importance to the cause of humanity—that of slavery. Mexico, who has given the noble and illustrious example of renouncing to the increase of her wealth, and even to the cultivation of her fields, that she may not see them fattened with the sweat, the blood and the tears of the African race, will not retrocede in this course ; and her efforts to recover a usurped territory will be blessed by all those who sincerely esteem the natural and impracticable rights of the human species.

The civilized world will not learn without scandal, that the inhabitants of the United States, infringing their own laws, and violating the most sacred international rights, support for a second time, a usurpation which they have commenced, and constantly supported, abusing and mocking the generosity with which the Mexicans bestowed upon their countrymen rich and coveted lands, and invited them to enjoy the benefit of their institutions. If Mexico should receive such hostility from those who call themselves her friends, she will treat them as enemies in the field of battle, she will repel force with force, and she will appeal to the judgment of the Universe upon such an aggression, as unjust as it would be violent.

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### ROBERT OWEN.

I have seldom seen any public character except the late Mr. Jefferson, so apparently determined to examine any system to its first principles, as General Santa Anna. He wished to commence his examination with the first principles of the system, with the laws of our nature that he might be sure whether the base was sound or not, upon which the superstructure was erected. I left him with the impression that he had good talents for command, and that he was truly desirous of contributing to the prosperity of the country.

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### WILLIAM MACLURE.

The language of children in all countries where negroes are the nurses and servants, is sufficient proof of the imitation of sounds ; and a further examination of the characters formed by the unfortunate mixture of abject submission, cringing flattery, and low, artful cunning, would finish the disagreeable picture of the characters of those, so unfortunate as to have slaves for their first companions and teachers.

Of all the animals, man or what is called the better or higher orders, is the only class that do not attend to the instruction of their offspring themselves, but leave that essential duty to hirelings. We

should naturally suppose, that in doing so, they would at least employ all their faculties of discrimination and selection, in the choice of the person or persons to whom they delegated that important trust; that they would surround their innocent progeny, with mildness, benevolence, friendship and good will towards man: so that every action they saw, and every expression they heard, should breathe nothing but peace, unanimity and friendly feeling, towards the whole human species. But how are these objects effected, when the formation of the infant mind is entrusted to an untaught and therefore ignorant slave?

Slaves, in this free country, though physically better treated, yet morally, by the contrast, are in a much more tantalizing situation, than in countries under despotism, where all are a kind of slaves, and not a ray of freedom flashes across the dismal field of universal coercion. When comparing their destiny with those around them, their motives for disobedience, discontent, revenge, &c. are much stronger, than in countries, where the chain of arbitrary power, though lighter near the source, yet weighs more or less heavily on all classes and descriptions of men.

In all countries where there are slaves, whether white or black, there is a perpetual war between force and fraud. The master, as legitimate owner of all production of the slave, seizes the whole, and the slave, to recover part for his own use, exercises his ingenuity to purloin, what has been considered by law and habit, the property of the master. This alternation of legal and illegal hostilities, leaves both parties in a state of irritable retaliation, manifested by force on the part of the master, and retorted by cunning, subterfuge, deceit, and hypocrisy, by the slave; a state of society which, while it clothes the master with an arbitrary power, necessary to its continuance, increases the temptation to crime on the part of the slave; and thus becomes the cause of a partial demoralization of both. Between this high-handed violence, and low, deceitful cunning, can the imitative minds of children become otherwise than corrupted and vitiated?

It is the monopoly of property, knowledge and power, that has supported the assumed superiority of the whites over the colored people in all the European colonies. In Mexico, the vast number of native Mexicans must command power, when property and knowledge shall lend their assistance, and join the strongest.

The tyranny of the strongest over the weakest has been manifested in all states of society, even where civilization has made some progress. The women are prevented, by the oppression of men, from being so useful either to themselves or others, as they would be, if freed from the arbitrary control of those who are only superior to them in physical strength. The improvement of mankind, has lost the aid and assistance of half the population, by the education of women being confined.

## FRANCES WRIGHT.

*Men are virtuous in proportion as they are happy, and happy in proportion as they are free.* This truth is exemplified in the history of modern as of ancient times. Every where knowledge, mental refinement, and the gentler, as the more ennobling, feelings of humanity, have kept pace, influx or reflux, with the growth or depression of the spirit of freedom.

Liberty without equality, what is it but a chimera? and equality, what is it also but a chimera unless it extend to all the enjoyments, exertions, and advantages, intellectual, and physical, of which our nature is capable?

By political liberty we may understand the liberty of speech and of action without incurring the violence of authority or the penalties of law. By moral liberty may we not understand the *free exercise of the liberty of speech and action*, without incurring the intolerance of popular prejudice and ignorant public opinion?

The strength of the prejudice of color, as existing in the United States and in the European colonies, can in general be little conceived, and less understood in the old continent; yet, however whimsical it may there appear, is it, in fact, more ridiculous than the European prejudice of birth? The superior excellence which the one supposes in a peculiar descent, or merely in a peculiar name, the other imagines in a peculiar complexion or set of features; and perhaps it is only by considering man in many countries, and observing all his varying and contradictory prejudices, that we can discover the equal absurdity of all.

There is a vulgar persuasion, that the ignorance of women, by favoring their subordination, ensures their utility. 'Tis the same argument employed by the ruling few against the subject many in aristocracies; by the rich against the poor in democracies; by the learned professions against the people in all countries. And let us observe, that if good in one case, it should be good in all; and that, unless you are prepared to admit that you are yourselves less industrious in proportion to your intelligence, you must abandon the position with respect to others. But, in fact, who is it among men that best struggle with difficulties?—the strong minded or the weak? Who meet with serenity adverse fortune?—the wise or the foolish? Who accommodate themselves to irremediable circumstances? or when remediable, who control and mould them at will?—the intelligent or the ignorant? Let your answer in your own case be your answer in that of women.

## WILLIAM THOMPSON.

The few intelligent and benevolent men who are clear sighted enough to see their interest in refraining from the use of an odious power of making their fellow-creatures wretched, admit the uselessness of such power to good purposes. Why is therefore this pestiferous power to oppress retained? Not by the wise for good, but by the ignorant and brutal for bad purposes; to save them the trouble of cultivating their intellectual powers, of learning the art of per-

suading, of convincing the understanding of their equals, of influencing by the cultivation of sympathy and benevolence! To save such troublesome, such unmanly operations, the brute, though possessing superior strength and affecting the self complacency of superior knowledge,—means abundantly sufficient, if not more than sufficient for all purposes of useful influence,—seizes on the power to command; and from that moment seals his own misery, as far as dependent on his connexion in marriage, with the degradation of his slave. If this power of command, not necessary for any useful purposes, not used by the good, is still retained, what does it prove? That it is retained for bad purposes, for gratifying the lust of domination of the stronger over the weaker, for securing to the stronger all those exclusive means of happiness which he may think fit to reserve to himself, for gratifying him with the vicious pleasure of holding the destinies, the happiness or misery of another human being, at his absolute and unaccountable will, that he may be enabled, if so inclined, to exercise all the passions of a fiend on his caged victim, to whom death, or his destruction, is the only refuge from his persecution; all human aid, all human sympathy barred out. Despotism is a power which will never be accepted of by the wise and good, which can be sought for by the ignorant and the wicked alone.—*Appeal of Women.*

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#### WILLIAM RAWLE.

In the month of March, 1818, upon the decease of Dr. Caspar Wistar, another of the Spartan band, Mr. Rawle was unanimously elected president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, and so continued until the hour of his death. How deeply he commiserated in the condition of the unhappy bondsmen, a life of generous devotion to the melioration of that condition abundantly shows.

His struggles in behalf of those who were incapable of struggling for themselves, were constant and unwearied. In such a contest, which he nobly sustained for upwards of forty years, what could support him? Nothing but the buoyant consciousness of undeviating rectitude. For such unceasing efforts what could reward him? Nothing but the cheering smiles of approving heaven, here, and its measureless glories hereafter. The objects of his bounty were those from whom he could expect no return; they were of the proscribed and outlawed race; and even when asserting their violated rights, he himself, in the eye of their oppressors, was often condemned to share in their odium, and almost partake of their penalties. It required no ordinary mind, no common place influences, thus at the same time to encounter the shafts of prejudice and pride in behalf of a class of men, who, fettered themselves, could impart no aid to the conflict, no consolations to the vanquished—no trophies to the victor. What laurels shall spring from the barren and arid soil of Africa? What reward shall her benighted and enslaved children bestow, to requite past exertion, or stimulate to renewed efforts, while every where confronted by danger—every where disheartened by dismay? For such devotion there can be but one motive, and that is, humanity; there

can be but one recompense, and that is the blessing of the bleeding and broken heart, upon which the soul shall be wafted to the bosom of its God. His doctrines upon this subject, which were the doctrines of Franklin, of Lafayette, of Rush, of Wilberforce, may be scoffed at by some—condemned by others—they may not have been safe doctrines to *live* by, but they were safe to *die* by; and, for my single self, I should ask no prouder inscription for my humble tomb, than—HERE LIES THE FRIEND OF THE FRIENDLESS AFRICAN.—*David Paul Brown.*

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THOMAS BRANAGAN.

At the present crisis, no subject can be presented to the public eye more deserving of their serious attention than slavery; our prosperity, nay, our very existence as a nation depends upon the question before us, viz: Whether new slave-holding states, particularly Texas, shall be annexed to the American republic, till the planters of the South gain the sole sovereignty, as they ever have held the balance of power by a preponderating influence in congress, or not? For instance, every cargo of slaves transported by the citizens of the South, and every additional slave state, not only enhances their riches, but increases their political influence; for, according to the constitution, *five* slaves in the South are equal to *two* citizens in the North, with respect to the rights of suffrage.

Slavery depends on the consumption of the produce of its labor for support. Refuse this produce, and slavery must cease. Say not that individual influence is small. Every aggregate must be composed of a collection of individuals. Though individual influence be small, the influence of collected numbers is irresistible.

The number of representatives of slaves, *alias* southern property, has already increased to twenty-five, and they are urging the annexation of new slave states. These considerations alone should cause our representatives to be on the alert, even laying aside the principles of natural justice, moral rectitude, and the super-excellent precepts of revelation, which inculcate, "that we should do to all men whatever we would that they should do unto us, and that we should love our neighbors (or all mankind) as ourselves."

We certainly have increased in luxury, avarice, and systematical cruelty, since the epoch of our independence, more than any other nation ever did in the same number of years; *for what Rome was in her decline, America is in her infancy.* We look with a supercilious glance upon personal virtue and national honor, while we are enamoured with riches. We suffer ambition to monopolize the rewards that should be conferred on virtue; nay, we supinely behold our fellow citizens, not only enslave and murder thousands of their innocent, unoffending fellow creatures periodically, but we permit them, by this unjust and unwarrantable medium, to gain not only riches to fill their coffers, but also political influence in our national councils, the permanent right of suffrage and sovereignty. For it is a lamentable fact, that for every two slaves the dealers in human flesh smuggle from Africa, or breed, they gain the same influence at elections,

as a free citizen inherits in his own person; and a planter that purchases two hundred negroes, not only replenishes his purse thereby, but also gains one hundred and twenty times as much influence in the nation, as the virtuous and honorable patriot who nobly refuses to prostitute his political and religious character, by participating in such unparalleled duplicity, hypocrisy, and villany. Is such inequality consistent with a republican form of government; is it consistent with justice, generosity, or even common sense? No; it is a canker that eats, and will of itself eventually destroy our constitution. If there was no other enemy to excite our fears and alarm our sensibility, this surely is sufficient. No less than sixty odd thousand slaves annually increase the representation.

If your slavers wish to effect a counter revolution in the minds of your injured fellow citizens, you must first cause them to unlearn what they learned in "the times that tried men's souls;" you must destroy their memories; you must draw a mighty veil before their intellectual eyes, to screen the tragical end of slavery in the now republic of Hayti; you must consign every copy of the Rights of Man, and every other patriotic work, disseminated over the face of the earth, to the flames; you must destroy the liberty of the press, that glorious privilege of freemen; you must finally destroy our post offices, and every conduit and vehicle of intelligence. Before you can fetter the understanding and blind the eyes of your fellow citizens, you must accomplish all these things and many more.

I think and believe, that to sanction and support slavery in Texas, is a national crime that would have disgraced Sodom and Gomorrah. My mind is much affected by the case of the injured Indians, and by the Texas mania; for sure I am, unless the friends of freedom strain every nerve, the tyrants of the south will gain their objects, as they have two or three times before.

[Under the Mexican government slavery has been totally abolished in Texas, and elsewhere. The Texian rebels could have effected nothing but for the assistance of the southern states, (backed by northern doughfaces,) who have as fully waged the treasonable, piratical war they excited, as if it had been by them formally declared. The number of principled men in Texas is too small to redeem the country and their cause from the fathomless abyss of misery, degradation, and infamy into which this unprecedented establishment and perpetuation of slavery must inevitably plunge them, as well as the United States. The slave-mongers, slave-politicians, slave-presses, and slave-senators, have foisted the recognition of the independence of that slave region, and are urging its incorporation into the United States as rapidly as possible. The monstrous outrage against the laws of nature and of nations, unsurpassed by the blackest page of history, is fast tending to its fatal consummation!]

The diabolical principle, which confers such a super-abundance of the paramount rights of suffrage and sovereignty upon a part of the citizens, accordingly as they enslave and torture their fellow men, to the great injury of the virtuous and honorable part of society—this infernal practice must be abolished, or the union must be dissolved, that is, if the spirit of '76 is not completely obliterated from the

breasts of the citizens of the north; for it is not only an insult to common sense, but degrading them to cowards, to suppose, that they will tamely see their sacred inalienable rights infringed by the extension of slavery.

Twelve amendments have been made to the constitution. Why not amend the principle alluded to? The constitution has provided ways and means to amend its own defects. Why not embrace this constitutional privilege, and eradicate this shameful inequality? Is it not more eligible to accommodate any misunderstanding that may exist between the different states, in this way, than to do it by the force of arms? Surely this would produce anarchy and intestine commotion; and who, in such an event, will be the greatest sufferers? I answer, and I shudder while I answer, the Oppressors! For how could they stand with injured innocence behind them,—their infuriated slaves; and virtuous patriotism before them,—their insulted fellow citizens?

Is a diversity of color a certain proof of a diversity of species? No. This argument, if it could prove any thing, would prove too much. It will be found, upon investigation, that there are among the nations of mankind, no less than four or five principal colors; not to say any thing of the various intermediate shades, which approach more or less towards each of them. What! are there four or five species of human beings? Is each of the four great quarters of the world inhabited by a distinct species of men? Are there to be found even in the same quarter of the world, human beings of different kinds?

Besides it appears to be a fixed law of nature, which operates in all parts of creation, that, if two animals of a different species pair, the offspring is unable to continue its species. Do not a black African and a white American, in instances innumerable, unite? Certainly! Is the mulatto incapable of marriage? No, he is as capable of continuing his own color, as his white father is of continuing his. An irrefragable proof this, that the black and the white inhabitants of our globe constitute one species of beings.

Whence the immense sums, which proprietors of plantations, and of negroes and mulattoes, receive annually, and spend in magnificence and luxury? Whence is all this great treasure? How is it raised? By the sweat, the blood, the tears, torments, the lives of your poor, hungry, naked, oppressed slaves. Are they so infinitely advantageous to you? And can you refuse; can you delay to hear the cry of their oppression, their sweat, and their blood? Have you not, as a nation, been long distinguished and famous, for a free, independent, generous spirit? Is your constitution civil and religious, your glory among the nations of the world? Do you suffer no slavery at the North? Why do you allow it elsewhere? Do you, year after year, concert the best measures which your wisdom can devise, for the prosperity and happiness of your white citizens at home and abroad? Why overlook, neglect, and oppress, your black subjects? Is there, can there be, such merit in one color, and such demerit in another?

Is industry a source of wealth to a nation? Slavery must be the

grand impoverisher, for it is an encouragement to idleness, and a depreciator of labor. Does virtue consolidate and strengthen a nation? Slavery, and its concomitant vices, must enervate, if not subvert it. How shamefully slavery exposes and endangers the virtue of females, I forbear to say; delicacy would shudder at the recital. The female who in theory or practice is an advocate for slavery, cannot be a votary or a friend to chastity.—*The Guardian Genius*.

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JOSEPH STURGE.

General Santa Anna's real crime in the eyes of the American slave-owner is his enforcing the abolition of slavery throughout the Mexican Republic, when they were looking to seize Texas as a market for their slaves.

This object was publicly avowed by them years ago. In the debates in the Virginia Convention, in 1829, Judge Upsler said, "If it should be our lot, as I trust it will be, to acquire the country of Texas, their price (the slaves) will rise again."

We are told by the advocates of the Texian scheme, as a caution not to interfere; that the cause of emancipation has retrograded in the United States, "owing to the intemperate zeal of the Northern abolitionists." I need not remind the friends of emancipation in England, that this was ever the favorite assertion of the slave-holders and their advocates, during the struggle for negro freedom in the British West India Colonies; nor yet record the opinion of American gentlemen, most accurately informed on the subject, that the bold and strenuous efforts of the Northern abolitionists, in denouncing this plague-spot of their social and political system, have, within the last four years, done more towards effecting its extinction than the exertions of the previous half century. The slave-owners of the South know this full well.

Such, then, being the fearful plan for erecting the new state of Texas, by giving new life and energy to a system of crime and injustice, which in many of the neighboring states is sinking under its inherent rottenness, it becomes the duty of every real abolitionist, whether in England or America, to warn his countrymen against being decoyed within the sphere of its contaminating influence. The country is designed to be the "home of the slave," and to be peopled by a traffic more hideous than the African slave trade itself.

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WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

Wars with Europe and Mexico are to be entailed on us by the annexation of Texas. And is war the policy by which this country is to flourish? Was it for interminable conflicts that we formed our Union? Is it blood shed for plunder, which is to consolidate our institutions? Is it by collision with the greatest maritime power, that our commerce is to gain strength? Is it by arming against ourselves the moral sentiments of the world, that we are to build up national honor? Must we of the North buckle on our armor, to fight the battles of slavery; to fight for a possession, which our moral principles

The West Indies on the south, with 3,000,000 dark allies, dispersed upon the plantations, to facilitate and further a visit to the "Patriot States,"—and New Brunswick beyond the pine woods of the disputed territory. To meet all this, we have a bankrupt treasury—a corrupt and confounded people—the "peculiar institution," to inspire us, and Texas to help us, as an ally. There is not a people under heaven, that could sympathize with us in such a contest, but the Republic of Texas. Texas is a Republic, to be sure, and almost the only one on earth, besides ours. Her *Republican* sympathy would outweigh that of monarchy and despotisms, on the other side. But then it would not work to much purpose for us, against the pressure of the British steamer. It would not avail us greatly as a counter propulsion. It might inspire our hearts, with enthusiasm to fight for slavery and equal rights,—but it would not waft artillery, like the floats of the British steam ship, or guard us from the tomahawk of the universal west, which such a war would call back against us from all the regions of Indian banishment, where revenge has been sharpening its edge, and hushing the animosities of the hostile tribes in one overwhelming enmity to the race, that has outraged their love of home, and native land, and fathers' graves. And if we fall in such a warfare, it would be glorious enough—however unfortunate for the cause of *Liberty*. Slavery has been troublesome to us, ever since we were a nation. But we have seen but the beginning of sorrows. It cannot remain well with us. It were in impeachment of the equal ways of Providence, if such a nation as this has been, can have prosperity, or experience any thing but signal retribution. To have enslaved humanity, under circumstances like these, is no light transgression, and brings with it, naturally, no light retribution. And our solemn statesmen,—when it burst upon us, can no more devise relief or escape, than Belshazzar's wise men could help him in his extremity, or read the writing on the wall.—*Herald of Freedom*

#### DAVID LEE CHILD.

What authority had president Jackson to commence the war in Texas? Not a jot more than Gen. Gaines. His power, in respect to making war upon a foreign nation, is restricted by the constitution to the repelling of invasions; and he cannot, without a violation of the constitution, and his oath, march a man beyond the limits of the Union. If it be true, as there appears no reason to doubt, that he has done this, he ought by law to be impeached, and expelled from office, and then punished by fine and imprisonment, or given up to the injured nation to be punished by them for any murder or robbery, which the troops may commit in pursuing his orders. He has no more right to enter Mexico, seize property and slay inhabitants, whether Indians or others, than any citizen of the United States has to go into Great Britain and do it. Such acts will be robbery, piracy, or murder, and ought to be punished accordingly.

The power of declaring war is vested exclusively in the congress of the United States; and there cannot be a lawful war, and one which shall confer upon those taking part in it, the rights of war,

without such declaration. Supposing Com. Porter, when he entered the town of Foxardo, in the Island of Porto Rico,—or Aaron Burr, when he entered Texas, thirty years ago, had been taken with their officers and men; would they not have been put to death agreeably to the law of nations. So would Gen. Jackson and his men, when, in two instances, they deliberately marched into Florida, and seized the towns and possessions of Spain. If the constitution had been supported, and the laws of the land faithfully executed, on either of those occasions, we should not now have had a president who would have ventured to issue an order to invade a friendly country and begin a war; nor a general who would dare to obey it, nor a subordinate officer, who would not throw up his commission, nor a soldier who would not throw down his arms at the frontier, and refuse, as they might lawfully and dutifully do, to be the instruments of usurpation, and the perpetrators of crime.

And where are the remonstrances of the press, and the meetings of the people? Where are the friends of universal peace, and above all, where is the Christian priesthood? And you merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters, where are you? Know you not that this presidential measure is fatally opposed to the purest devotion to self-interest that ever chilled a half-penny heart? Awake, arise; it is not (only) a breach of the constitution. There is a breach in the strong-box.

If any circumstance could enhance the intrinsic wickedness of the executive proceedings, it is the end and object at which they are aiming. It is to **PROPAGATE SLAVERY**, or in other words, perpetual robbery, rapine, and murder throughout a vast and beautiful region, now, by the laws of Mexico, perfectly free. It is to open a new and interminable slave-market to the old slave-breeding sinners of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and other old slave states, and to flesh-mongers every where. It is to bring into this Union, for the benefit of NULLIFIERS, FIVE TO TEN new slave states, each with a Constitution, not on<sup>ly</sup> establishing slavery, but also forbidding their own legislatures ever to abolish it. This is a provision of the new constitution of Texas, formed since the struggle for liberty commenced! The old or Mexican constitution of Texas abolished slavery forever!

And the free states are willing to pay three fourths of the taxes (as they ever must so long as they are raised on consumption) to support a war for these objects; for, remember if war exists, 'appropriations must be made to carry it on.'

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### EDWIN W. GOODWIN.

**TEXAS.**—A correct idea of the importance, magnitude, and power of that nation, for which such an anxiety is expressed that it may be united with this country, may be obtained from the fact that the whole vote for President at the late election, was 10,084; only about one-ninth as many votes as were cast at our late presidential election in the single state of Illinois.

The national debt of this immense people is \$11,602,127, includ-

ing the appropriation of the last congress, and \$1,000,000 of bonds hypothecated by Gen. Hamilton. This, upon an average, is about eleven hundred and sixty dollars to each voter at the late election. It is a very reasonable conclusion then, that the people of Texas are anxious to form a new connection in business, especially if the proposed partner has some money or credit.

"By Art IV. Sect. 2, of the Constitution, fugitives from justice are to be delivered up on demand, to the state from which they fled; so that Texas, if annexed to the United States, would be left without a corporal's guard!"—*Tocsin of Liberty*.

### JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

Our constituents are asked to engage in a war with one of the most powerful nations of the earth, in order to enable the slave-dealers of the south to carry their slaves out of the territory and jurisdiction of the slave states under the flag of our common country. They insist upon the privilege of involving our constituents, the free people of Ohio, in the disgrace and expense of maintaining what Mr. Jefferson calls "an execrable commerce in human beings." Against these abuses our constituents have remonstrated. Conscious that they are unconstitutional infringements of their rights, they have year after year sent their petitions here, praying in the most respectful manner that they may be relieved from these oppressions and from such unconstitutional taxation. They have approached congress in the most respectful manner, and in the most unexceptionable language have asked that these abuses may cease. These petitions have been treated with contempt and the most insulting epithets applied to the people who have thus dared to approach their servants. When petitioning for the protection of their constitutional rights, they have been falsely represented as attempting to invade the rights of others. When they have asked relief from taxation for the support of slavery, they have been represented as attempting to interfere with the vested rights of others. When they have asked congress to repeal the laws of their own enacting, they have been held up to the country and the world, as seeking for unconstitutional objects which congress had no power to grant.—*Letter to the Members of Congress, March 5, 1842.*

*Resolutions offered by Mr. Giddings, for which he was censured by a majority of the house.*

*Resolved,* That slavery, being an abridgement of the natural rights of man, can exist only by force of positive municipal law, and is necessarily confined to the territorial jurisdiction of the power creating it.

*Resolved,* That when the brig Creole, on her late passage for New-Orleans, left the territorial jurisdiction of Virginia, the slave laws of that state ceased to have jurisdiction over the persons on board said brig, and such persons became amenable only to the laws of the United States.

*Resolved,* That all attempts to exert our national influence in fa-

vor of the coastwise slave trade, or to place this nation in the attitude of maintaining a "commerce in human beings," are subversive of the rights and injurious to the feelings and the interests of the free states; are unauthorized by the constitution, and prejudicial to our national character.

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MR. MAYNARD.

Under the pretence of preventing any Indian disturbances, while the Texian soldiers and citizens are in the service against the Mexicans, the Secretary of War has put Gen. Taylor in command of a body of U. S. troops, and sent him to that republic, with discretionary powers; and every one who knows how General Gaines managed before, under similar circumstances, and how such matters were conducted by Gen. Jackson, in Florida, will of course understand, that this is equivalent to sending an army of 2,000 men, to the aid of Texas. Under the same pretence before, our army was marched some 200 miles into Mexican territory, If I remember rightly, and if necessary, no doubt will be again.—*Madison Abolitionist*

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STARTLING FACTS.

The late three years' war with England, the most powerful nation in the world, cost the United States about \$90,000,000.

The three years' war in Florida, with a remnant tribe of Seminole Indians and a few runaway Negroes, has cost us \$40,000,000, or nearly half the whole expense of our war with England!!!

The war against the miserable Indians and Negroes, was wickedly commenced, has been ingloriously conducted, and threatens to be interminable?

There is not, in the history of wars among civilized nations, a parallel for the wantonness, imbecility and corruption which distinguishes this dishonorable, infamous crusade.—*Albany Evening Journal*.

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ZALMON EASTMAN.

So it appears to be a plan already matured, that troops are to be conveyed from this country directly into the territory of Mexico, without setting a foot on the soil of Texas.

Remember, that the original contest with Mexico, was not commenced for liberty, but for the purpose of introducing slavery into Texas, and for wresting that territory from Mexico, that it might be joined to the United States to strengthen the slave power here. And remember also, that the sympathy manifested for the people of Texas, and all this violation of neutrality and the laws and usages of nations, is not sympathy for the oppressed, nor for the extension or preservation of liberty, but is sympathy for the oppressor, and these plans are carried out for the sake of strengthening the chains of the slave, and for extending the dominion of slavery.—*Genius of Liberty*.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### GAMALIEL BAILEY.

The report of the invasion of Texas by Mexico, is confirmed. Many of our newspapers never tire in eulogizing the spirit of the Texians on this occasion.

The conduct of a certain portion of our citizens in relation to the belligerents deserves notice. A meeting has been held in Cincinnati, to sympathize with the revolted province; a similar one in Philadelphia. Meantime, open efforts are made to enlist the people of the United States in a crusade against Mexico. The National Intelligencer coolly announces that "a company of seventy emigrants, well armed and equipped, left Mobile on the 24th ultimo for Texas, on an exploring expedition." A correspondent of the Daily Message, writing from New-Orleans, March 26th, says—that "fresh recruits are marching from every quarter to aid them (the Texians,) in their glorious struggle. Last Sunday the steamship Neptune left this port with two hundred fearless and gallant spirits. May the God of battles crown their efforts with speedy and brilliant success."

Why have we no president's message to repress these hostile demonstrations towards a power, with which we are at peace? Here are armed bands marching from this country against Mexico, in violation of good faith and of the laws of the United States, and yet John Tyler, whose oath of office binds him to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," looks on and is silent! We all know how prompt was the executive with its proclamation, when the hostility of our northern borderers was likely to interrupt the friendly relations with Great Britain. But circumstances alter cases. England is a formidable, Mexico a feeble, power. We were afraid of the former; but most valiantly do we bully the latter. Besides, slavery had nothing to gain from irruptions into Canada; so a pro-slavery government was most scrupulous in fulfilling the obligations imposed by the laws of nations. But, having every thing to gain by the separation of Texas from Mexico, the government which it controls, connives at the most flagitious aggressions by our citizens on that friendly state! And yet this government, after having permitted many of its citizens to inflict outrage after outrage on Mexico, affects a saint-like countenance, and complains of the hostility of our neighbor! Most perfidious!

"And thus I clothe my naked villiany,  
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil."

Some wretched trucklers to the powers that be, are apt to represent opposition to the administration of the government as treason against the country. Poor fools! they should be slaves to the grand Turk. It is because we love our country—its honor, its interest—that we abhor the government, as it has long been administered. It does not represent the people of the United States. It is the exponent and instrument of one interest—the tool of a single class. That interest is slavery, that class is made up of slave-holders and their northern menials. Let the government be redeemed from this degradation, and be controlled by the constitution, interpreted in the light

of the Declaration of Independence, and then may we expect to see this republic respecting the rights of all mankind, acting with even-handed justice towards all nations, the weak, as well as powerful.  
—*The Philanthropist.*

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### GERRIT SMITH.

During the twenty-two years of the existence of the Colonization Society, not so many slaves have been emancipated and given to it for expatriation, as are born in a single week. As a proof that the sympathies of the south are all with the slave-holding and real character of this two-faced institution, and not at all with the abolition purposes and tendencies, which it professes at the north, none of its presidents, (and slave-holders only are deemed worthy to preside over it,) has ever contributed from his stock of slaves to swell those bands of emigrants, who, leaving our shores in the character of "nuisances," are instantly transformed, to use your own language, into "missionaries, carrying with them credentials in the holy cause of christianity, civilization, and free institutions."

I add, that we of the north must feel concerned about slavery in the slave states, because of our obligation to pity the deluded, hard-hearted, and bloody oppressors in those states: and to manifest our love for them by rebuking their unsurpassed sin. And, notwithstanding pro-slavery statesmen at the north, who wink at the iniquity of slave-holding, and pro-slavery clergymen at the north, who cry, "peace, peace" to the slave-holder, and sew "pillows to armholes," tell us, that by our honest and open rebuke of the slave-holder, we shall incur his enduring hatred; we, nevertheless, believe that "open rebuke is better than secret love," and that, in the end, we shall enjoy more southern favor than they, whose secret love is too prudent and spurious to deal faithfully with the objects of its regard.

I have a somewhat extensive acquaintance at the north; and I can truly say, that I do not know a white abolitionist, who is the reputed father of a colored child. At the south there are several hundred thousand persons, whose yellow skins testify, that the white man's blood courses through their veins. Whether the honorable portion of their parentage is to be ascribed exclusively to the few abolitionists scattered over the south—and who, under such supposition, must, indeed, be prodigies of industry and prolificness—or whether anti-abolitionists there, have, notwithstanding all their pious horror of "amalgamation," been contributing to it, you can better judge than myself.

It appears to me highly improbable, that emancipation would be followed by the migration of the emancipated. Emancipation, which has already added fifty per cent. to the value of estates in the British West Indies, would immediately add as much to the value of the soil of the south. Much more of it would be brought into use; and, notwithstanding the undoubted truth, that the freedman performs twice as much labor as when a slave, the south would require, instead of any diminution, a very great increase of the number of her laborers

The slave-holders of the south represent slavery as a heaven-born institution—themselves as patriarchs and patterns of benevolence—and their slaves, as their tenderly treated and happy dependents. The abolitionists, on the contrary, think that slavery is from hell—that slave-holders are the worst of robbers—and that their slaves are the wretched victims of unsurpassed cruelties. Now, how do abolitionists propose to settle the points at issue?—by fanciful pictures of the abominations of slavery to countervail the like pictures of its blessedness?—by mere assertions against slavery, to balance mere assertions in its favor? No—but by the perfectly reasonable and fair means of examining slavery in the light of its own code—of judging of the character of the slave-holder in the light of his own conduct—and of arguing the condition of the slave from unequivocal evidences of the light in which the slave himself views it. To this end we publish extracts from the southern slave code, which go to show that slavery subjects its victims to the absolute control of their erring fellow men—that it withholds from them marriage and the Bible—that it classes them with brutes and things—and annihilates the distinctions between mind and matter. To this end we republish in part, or entirely, pamphlets and books, in which southern men exhibit, with their own pens, some of the horrid features of slavery.

Some of the advertisements of this class identify the fugitive slave by the scars, which the whip, or the manacles and fetters, or the rifle had made on his person. Some of them offer a reward for his head!—and it is to this same end, that we often refer to the ten thousands, who have fled from southern slavery, and the fifty fold that number, who have unsuccessfully attempted to fly from it. How unutterable must be the horrors of the southern prison-house, and how strong and undying the inherent love of liberty to induce these wretched fellow beings to brave the perils which cluster so thickly and frightfully around their attempted escape? That love is indeed undying.—*Letter to Henry Clay.*

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### WILLIAM MACKENZIE.

The intrigues of the United States slave-owners it was, which converted Texas into a place of bondage to the man of color. Honest Mexico had made it free alike to all men in 1829, and for this offence has southern vengeance and European diplomacy continued to strike at the tranquillity of her devoted population ever since, while it is whispered that Cass, the agent of the south in Paris, was not unfriendly to Louis Phillipe's villainous attack.

Again, Cuba was about to seek independence, and offer equal liberty to all its inhabitants some years ago. But it is well known that Messrs. Clay and Adams in 1827, and Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Van Ness in 1829, made the most urgent remonstrances to old Spain against permitting such a step. The south was ready to tender the aid of the arms of the great American republic to crush a struggle for freedom, which might end in yielding an asylum to a Virginia mulatto slave. Not content with the gains of their own serfs, the

avarice of man is such, that of 177 slave ships which arrive every year in Cuba, five-ninths are owned and fitted out in this Union under the fostering care of its government, and their guilty gains are truly enormous.

Compare the conduct of the slave power at Washington to Texas, and to Canada. Scattered along an extensive line, without munitions of war, without provisions, almost without clothing, pursued by the English forces on one side, and by the troops under the command of General Scott on the other, during a most severe and stormy winter. Such was the situation of the Canadian republicans in 1838. The Texians were slave-owners fighting to re-establish slavery on a soil from which it had been recently banished by the Mexicans; the American government gave them every possible aid and assistance. The Canadian Patriots fought for liberty to all, and no negro slavery could be expected to crown their triumphs.—*McKenzie's Gazette*, June, 1840.

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### LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

Meetings in favor of Texas and against Mexico, have been held in every southern and south-western city. Upwards of fifty thousand dollars in money and munitions have been subscribed for the Texians. And it is said, that several have already left this city for Texas, in order to engage in the war against Mexico.

Who can witness these efforts to support and extend slavery, and not feel a blush of indignation for this boasted republic! And look, too, at the prodigality with which the slave-holders pour out their money, and for the basest of purposes, while the cause of human rights, at the north, languishes for the want of support.—*N. Y. Watchman*.

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The south never will give the slave up until the North is converted to our doctrines. While the north regards the colored man as it now does, it would be a Herculean, a desperate enterprise for the south to undertake the emancipation of the slave. The north must make its peace with the "free colored man," before the south can emancipate the slave. It would not save the country, or free the slave, to enact the abolition of slavery by congress, and by every state general court in the union, without a moral change in the white population towards the black, and the consequent revolution of feeling in the black towards the white man. Nothing can effect this change but the action and prevalence of anti-slavery societies and principles.—*Anti-Slavery Manual*.

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CHANGE OF OPINION.—Mr. J. B. Lamar, formerly warmly and actively engaged in the support of the Texian cause, is not disposed, it appears to pursue the same course at present. In a letter to the Savannah Georgian, he says, that "time, reflection, and a more enlightened conscience, convince him that any interference with the war in Texas, by citizens of one of the United States, is a violation

of the laws of our own country, and inconsistent with our interests and the doctrines we hold of like conduct in others towards us; and he must therefore in justice to himself, not only decline the appointment, (to which he had been called by a meeting, held in Savannah, of friends of that cause,) but refuse to contribute to the object in any way whatever."—*Boston Daily Mail*

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### ARCHIBALD L. LINN.

Recent events have satisfied me that new and serious attempts are to be made to accomplish the annexation of Texas to this Union. One of the principal instruments in the scheme is to be found in the character of the present mission to Mexico, and, as no higher interests can be involved in our foreign intercourse than the political considerations which belong to this mission, I feel it my duty to advert to them at the earliest opportunity.

Whoever would look back upon the history of our relations with Mexico in reference to the province of Texas—of the first settlement of that province—and of the men who and the influences which produced the revolution there and her separation from Mexico; whoever would look back upon the legislation of congress—of the legislation of several of the states of the union, and upon the opinions and influences of men in all parts of the country; whoever would trace the whole progress of that revolution from its inception down to the present time, and connect it with the present events and present condition of that country, would come to the conclusion that the political difficulties which had heretofore existed between this government and Mexico, had reference only to the annexation of Texas—and that the efforts to attain that object were to be renewed, with all the moral and political evils which could not fail to accompany it.

Mr. L. then glanced briefly at the history of Texas as a province, to show that the whole history of diplomacy on this subject, (of which he said, he had copious notes,) and the whole history of legislation went to show that the annexation of Texas, (whether successful or not,) was the desired fruit of the present mission to Mexico. He referred to the representative history of General Waddy Thompson, as a member of this house, to show that that gentleman had introduced a proposition for the recognition of the independence of Texas; that he had pursued a course which pledged him to that step. And he (Mr. L.) hesitated not to predict that one of the fruits of this mission, as now created, would be a renewal of the proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States.

Mr. L. passed on to notice the claims of the citizens of the United States against the government of Mexico, in relation to which a commission has been in session for some two years past; and expressed the conviction that the grand *finale* of these claims (if ever settled at all) would be the relinquishment of them on the part of this government, either by means of a recognition of the independence of Texas, or a direct cession of Texas to this government. And it

was to prevent the evils arising from this state of things, that this mission ought not, in his judgment to be allowed.

Notwithstanding our aggressions upon Mexico, (which he did not advert to, but which were matters of history,) we were still, at least professedly, at peace with her, under solemn treaties of amity and commerce. By what rule, then, of national law or national honor we were justified in interfering in the affairs of Texas, he could not divine—Texas, a province in a state of open revolt, whose independence Mexico had never recognized, but against which she was at this time waging a most uncompromising war. Whence, then, the sympathy and enthusiasm which had been excited on the subject in this country? Whence the injustice and breach of national faith against Mexico, which had engendered so much ill-blood and ill-feeling against a government which was doing the most that she was able to do, to establish free institutions of the same kind as our own? Whence the abandonment of the policy of non-interference, which had been so studiously cultivated and adhered to by this government in all the contests which had taken place on this continent? Or who could doubt that the continuance of negotiations between this government and Mexico, in relation to the annexation of Texas, would inevitably lead to war? And Mr. L. alluded to the probability, in such an event, of interference on the part of Great Britain.

—*Speech in Congress, April 13, 1842.*

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### WILLIAM SLADE.

Mr. S. had been greatly surprised at the nomination to Mexico of a public man who had always zealously advocated the cause of Texian independence. Gentlemen in the south did not appreciate the feeling which pervaded this country in reference to this Texian question. Throughout more than half the states of this union, it was watched with the utmost jealousy, and excited the deepest feeling, because it was well known that anxious efforts had long been going on to effect the annexation of Texas to the United States, and it was as perfectly understood that the entering wedge to the accomplishment of such a design was never applied in the open light of day, but secretly, and, for aught that appeared upon the surface, that wedge might not only be entered, but driven up past all hope of retraction before the fact was known at all. And there were those in this union who looked the more sharply at all such measures from their apprehension as to the connexion between the annexation of Texas and the extension of slavery. Whether these persons were imprudent or not, in the course they pursued—whether or not they adopted the best means to accomplish their objects, and whether their abstract positions were sound or not, still they were perpetually on the watch-tower, looking with eagle eyes at every movement bearing on the Texian question, and but for their unsleeping vigilance, the so much desired union between that country and this would have been effected long ago. Here Mr. S. referred to the vast number of petitions which they had sent up against the annexation. That number was not so great now, because an impression had begun to prevail that the danger was now over.

But Mr. S. could assure them they were entirely mistaken. It was not over; very far from it, and he thanked the gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Linn,) for rousing the attention of the country to the subject. What had they seen during the last year? Not only did the public press of the south and south-west come out openly for annexation, but several of the states had passed official resolutions to the same effect; and when brought into the House of Representatives, how were they treated? Not as the abolition resolutions even from state legislatures were. They were not only received, but ordered to be printed, that they might be considered and acted upon. The same thing had been done at the other end of the capitol. All this was done with the intent of forming public opinion, and, so far, it was all fair. But if a northern abolitionist should attempt any means to counteract such opinion at the south, by arguments however strong and however reasonable, he must straightway be seized and hung to a lamp post. [A laugh.]

The American people never could be drawn into any such measure as the annexation of Texas; it would be utter ruin to the union of the states. Mr. S. would not give a snap of his fingers for this union from the day such a measure was effected. It would be dissolved *ipso facto* from that moment. He was a friend to the union; he desired to see it preserved, and therefore he deprecated a scheme that must dissolve it.

He would say, in general terms, that he believed it arose from a desire to extend and to perpetuate slavery. That such a desire did exist was a fact beyond dispute; it had been manifested with greater or less distinctness for the last forty years; in its practical effects it had trampled on all the safeguards of the constitution, and lengthened the cords and strengthened the stakes of slavery in this land. The general expectation at the adoption of the constitution, was that slavery would be abolished in less than a quarter of a century; but half a century had elapsed, and instead of being abolished it had increased three-fold. This process began with the purchase of Louisiana, or rather, with the toleration of slavery in that state, and it had been extended in the free states since formed out of the Louisiana purchase. Mr. S. considered this as having inflicted a deeper wound on the constitution than any other event that had ever happened since its adoption.

Mr. S. could show, did time permit, how slavery had governed this land; how it had chosen our presidents for a succession of forty years, while there had, since the foundation of the government, been a president in the chair from the free states but for twelve years and one month. And of these, one never would have been president had he not been "a northern man with southern principles." A review of the individuals who had filled the speaker's chair of this house would show the same thing.

He might refer to the fact that five out of six of those who had filled the mission to Mexico, had been gentlemen from the southern states. Of the reason of such a selection there could be no doubt. He need not say how impossible it was to carry on important negotiations with almost any government, and especially with Mexico,

without their having an important bearing on our relations with other governments. And here he took occasion to repel the expressions of contempt which had fallen from Mr. Cushing, in which he spoke of gentlemen cowering under the frown of Great Britain, and of being actuated by a dread of British interference. The people of New-England would be the very last to be actuated by such a feeling, as the glorious history of this country would abundantly show. But while we were ready to maintain our rights against all the world, it was the part of wisdom and prudence not to be insensible to the danger of becoming needlessly embroiled with other governments. The gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Pickens,) had given pretty strong indications not only of a very strong sympathy with the cause of Texas, but of a disposition to carry that feeling into our relations with Mexico. He had alluded to what he supposed to be a fact, that the British government stood pledged to that of Mexico, to aid it under certain contingencies. If this were true, it was of itself sufficient to put every prudent statesman on his guard.

Mr. S. would tell gentlemen that their scheme never could be carried into effect; there might be a union on parchment, but it never could go down with the people of the northern states. Let the thought be banished at once. Let not gentlemen deceive themselves—he could tell them that the very moment they came out and showed their hand they would find a spirit which they little dreamed of. He would say to them, as a friend, “hands off.” Let this government declare at once to Texas, to Mexico, and to all the world beside, that such a thing as a union between Texas and the United States was utterly impracticable. When this should have been done, the government of Mexico would be more likely to open their ears to the claims of American citizens. Let it be distinctly understood that the moment we united ourselves with Texas, that moment we married ourselves to a war. He was, therefore, for a proclamation of neutrality. Why should this measure not be resorted to in relation to our neighbors at one extremity of the union as to those at the other? We did it relation to Canada, why not in regard to Texas and Mexico? We owed this to ourselves and to the peace of the world. We stood in a highly dangerous position—before we knew it the matched might be applied to the magazine.

## THE BRITISH EMANCIPATOR.

TEXAS.—It is a deplorable thing in this age of the world, after such gigantic and persevering efforts have been made to get rid of slavery and the slave-trade, and with so much success, that in a country in which slavery had been abolished, (and that country four times as large as France,) this curse and crime *should be restored!* It is yet more deplorable, that this restoration of slavery should have the effect, and should have been brought about for the purpose, of providing a vast and almost boundless market for the slaves reared like cattle by an adjoining nation, boasting, to be civilized and christian! The domestic slave-trade has made the United States the sink and the scorn of the world: yet, this more than infernal traffic is to find an inexhaustible outlet in Texas! Yet more deplorable is it, that a nation born amidst the agonies of the slavery it revives, and existing but for the perpetuation and aggravation of atrocities which all civilized governments have agreed to denounce and exterminate, should by any one of those governments have been acknowledged as a nation at all. Humanity bleeds on contemplating slavery as a fact of the past; it is dreadful to see it originating anew. A nascent people ordaining slavery should have met with not a moment's toleration; they should have been frowned and trodden out of being by the united scorn and resistance of the civilized world.—*The British Emancipator.*

The Committee of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, to LORD PALMERSTON, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The committee will not trouble your Lordship with a detail of the unjust and atrocious manner in which the Mexican province of Texas has been wrested from the parent state by unprincipled adventurers, land jobbers, and slave-holders from the United States, whose conduct merits the most indignant rebuke, and must attach lasting dishonor to all who may become implicated in it: but would press on the consideration of your Lordship and the government the well-known fact, that the legislature of Texas has abolished the universal freedom which, with such admirable justice and propriety, had been decreed by the Mexican government, and have re-established slavery in its worst form. The committee would also call your Lordship's attention to the fact, that the Texian laws also provide for the expulsion from its territory of all Africans and the descendants of Africans, whether in whole or in part born free, as well as of the native Indian tribes, an iniquity not less cruel than it is infamous, and unparalleled in the history of any civilized people.

The establishment of slavery in Texas will open an immense market for the slave-breeders of the United States, and will inevitably enlarge to an unprecedented extent, and raise to a pitch of unprecedented horrors, a traffic so infamous and deplorable. Nor can it be doubted but, in spite of the law which prohibits it, the slave-trade with Africa, against which the whole power of the British empire is arrayed, will be extensively carried on, as there is too great reason to believe it has already begun.

Under these circumstances, the committee trust that her Majesty's government will regard the proposed recognition of Texas with the

greatest abhorrence ; and they cherish an earnest hope that in their decisions, considerations of humanity, justice, and liberty will be firmly held paramount to every other. On behalf of the Committee,  
G. W. ALEXANDER, *Chairman*.

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GEORGE BRABBURN.

Until lately, Texas was, as it now is of right, a part of the republic of Mexico. While Mexico was under the dominion of Spain, slavery was tolerated there. But on becoming independent of the mother country, she, with a consistency of which our country would have done well to set the example, gave liberty to her bondmen, and declared, that slavery should exist no more within her borders forever. With this state of things, the people were evidently well enough satisfied. For, they were not the hypocrites to withhold from others the liberty which they had fought and bled to secure for themselves. They had not yet been contaminated by association with North American republicans. They would, therefore, to a man, have remained satisfied, but for the 'foreign interference'—the emigration into their country of a desperate set of speculators, gamblers, blacklegs, fleshmongers, slave-drivers, and demagogues, from these United States. These miserable libels upon humanity, though they did not without great difficulty, and never wholly, succeed in joining to their causes the old settlers of the soil, did, nevertheless, by accession to their numbers from this country, and by aid of friends they left behind, who, unlike themselves it seems, had not quite patriotism enough to leave their country for their country's good, ultimately felt themselves sufficiently strong to attempt the transfer of their allegiance from Mexico to the government of the United States. They desired to establish slavery in their new country. It was one of the chief objects of their rebellion. The plan was regarded with favor by the slave-holding members of this Union, as also by certain land-sharks of the free states, who had made investments in Texan lots. The former saw in it a powerful means of strengthening their "peculiar institution." Both knew, if it succeeded, it would put money into their pockets.

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EDMUND QUINCY.

There are perils, and those imminent—perils, which in the opinion of many wise men threaten to lock forever the fetters of the slave, and even to throw the links of the chain around the limbs of the free. If Texas, say they,—the land of the pirate and the murderer, the common sewer into which is drained all the filth which is too abominable even for the slaves states to endure—if Texas be annexed to the United States, then slavery will be forever entailed upon us, and the preponderance which will be given to the slave-holding interest in the councils of the nation, by that event, will render the freemen of the north but the serfs of a southern task-master. If Texas be not annexed, then the Union will be dissolved ; a slave-holding confederacy will be formed, and slavery forever perpetuated.

I am sure that no man can deprecate more sincerely than I do, the annexation of Texas to this union. I believe that I realize all the immediate and all the remote bearings which that event would have upon the great cause of Universal Freedom. There is no effort which I would not make—no sacrifice to which I would not gladly submit—to avert that most hateful alliance. But were it accomplished to-morrow, should I despair? Should I despondingly abandon the cause of God and liberty on that account, and believe that the trickery of a handful of scurvy politicians at Washington could cancel the decree registered in the chancery of heaven—that every slave shall be free? Should I even believe that the period of universal emancipation would be very much delayed by that event? No, sir. The only effect which such a blow would have upon me, and which I believe it would have upon every Abolitionist, would be to make me feel that a great work was to be done in a short time. That we must concentrate all our efforts, and multiply all our machinery for acting upon the public mind, before the young dragon by the banks of the Sabine be fully grown, and before she have engendered a brood like unto herself, to be arrayed by her side against the cause of God and freedom.

Whenever proclamation is made that the union of these states is dissolved, on that day the death-knell of slavery is tolled. As soon as they are released from the fatal embrace of their northern friends, their patriarchal system falls to the ground. It is the sympathy and encouragement of the free states which sustain that system now. Let the ties of interest, which create that false sympathy, be severed, and it vanishes; stifled humanity revives, and the oppressor must soon break his rod for very shame. It is a strange infatuation to suppose that any military force, or any custom house regulations, could keep from the inhabitants of any country the influence of the wholesome public opinion of neighboring nations, and the scorn of the civilized world.

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The Americans of our revolution then fought for their own liberty, and through their example of successful resistance, for the liberty of the world. But the Texans are fighting for slavery among themselves, and if success crown their desperate efforts, they will have fought for the perpetuity of slavery throughout the world. The wishes of the Texans are now for their annexation to these United States of America. If they be admitted into the union, a deep, perhaps one of the deepest blows that can be struck, will have been inflicted on the rights of man; the name of liberty will have been profaned, her spirit disgraced, and her fair presence banished for a time, perhaps forever, from 'the land of the free, and the home of the brave.' As Texas rebelled against Mexico, because the institutions of domestic slavery could not exist in that nation, she, of course, would not ask for admission into our union, unless permitted to enter with all her slavish retinue. She deserted Mexico, because Mexico is a free state; she now begs in the name of liberty, and with the prayer of freemen, to be united with the United States, because here under the

star-spangled banner of our republic, she can legally fasten iron chains on the bodies, and the far worse than iron chains, the corroding manacles of ignorance and servitude on, in, and all around the minds of her slaves.—*The Pawtucket Chronicle*.

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TEXAS.—Shall this land of slavery, this immense reservoir of collected abominations, become an integral part of this nation?

The avowed object is to secure 'the safety and repose of the southern states:' that is, in plain King's English, to rivet the chains of slavery not on the slave only but the nation.

In Rome, next to crucifixion the most infamous punishment consisted in lashing to the felon's back a dead and putrefying carcass. That we as a nation have reached the point of criminality at which justice might righteously doom us to carry 'this body of death,' is what we dare not deny. But we are called upon to bind the burden on our own backs—to do it freely—and by a deliberate act of national legislation, to proclaim that we are worthy of the infamous punishment, and are ready to bow down and bear it!

What then is to be done? Petition Congress. This is a legitimate remedy. On this question all may unite, except the slave-holder, without distinction of party, sect, or place. Let public sentiment then, concentrating its decisive and determined energies into one loud and defening veto, meet the proposed measure on the threshold. Let it be seen that however artfully the demon of oppression may lay his plans, the friends of freedom are prepared at every point to meet him.—*Cleveland Journal*.

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### LEGISLATURE OF VERMONT.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested to use their influence in that body to prevent the annexation of Texas to the union.*

That, representing as we do the people of Vermont, we do, hereby, in their name, solemnly protest against such annexation in any form.

That as the representatives of the people of Vermont, we do solemnly protest against the admission into this union, of any state whose constitution tolerates domestic slavery.

That congress have full power by the constitution, to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia and in the territories of the United States.

That our senators in congress be instructed and our representatives requested to present the foregoing report and resolutions to their respective houses in congress, and use their influence to carry the same speedily into effect.

That the governor of this state be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions to the president of the United States, and to each of our senators and representatives in congress.

November 1, 1837.

By the House also *resolved*, That congress has the constitutional power to prohibit the slave trade between the several states of this union, and to make such laws as shall effectually prohibit such trade.

## THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

*Resolved*, That in the name and on behalf of the people of Ohio, we do hereby protest against the annexation of the republic of Texas to the union of these states, as unjust, inexpedient, and destructive of the peace, safety, and well-being of the nation; and we do, in the name and on behalf of the said people solemnly declare that congress has no power conferred on it by the constitution of the United States, to consent to such annexation; and that the people of Ohio cannot be bound by any such covenant, league or arrangement, made between congress and any foreign state or nation.

## MEMORIAL.

To the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled.

The memorial of the convention for the formation of an anti-slavery society for the state of PENNSYLVANIA, assembled at Harrisburg, respectfully sheweth,

That your memorialists have learned with sorrow and alarm, that a proposition is at this time before your honorable body, to recognize the independence of the government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas. Against this measure, your memorialists in behalf of themselves, of the thousands whom they represent, and of the principles long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania; in the name of liberty, justice, and humanity enter their SOLEMN AND UNITED PROTEST.

Facts incontrovertible, which have come to the knowledge of your memorialists, warrant the belief that the insurrection in Texas, has been aided by citizens of the United States, that its main object, the grand cause of the movement, as evinced by the sentiments and conduct of its advocates, and by the very constitution of their assumed government, is the establishment of domestic slavery, the re-opening of an immense slave market—to set up anew the shambles for human flesh, where the abhorrent traffic had been arrested and abolished by the legitimate authorities of Mexico—and finally, to annex the territory to the United States. From a regard to the national honor; for the character of the age in which we live; by their obligations to posterity; and above all to the God of justice, your memorialists feel themselves called upon as Pennsylvanians, the representatives of free-men and christians, to offer their strong remonstrance against any act on the part of the country of which they are citizens, which shall sanction or recognize a government which owes its origin to the base and unhalloved purpose of re-establishing slavery upon the soil of liberty.

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully but earnestly entreat your honorable body, to reject the proposition for the recognition of

the government, assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas, as well as all attempts that may be made to connect it with the United States, and as in duty bound we will ever pray, &c.

Signed in behalf of the Convention,

F. JULIUS LE MOYNE, *President*.

B. F. Allen, Wm. A. Adair, Benjamin Brown, Nathan Stein, Joseph M'Truman, Lindley Coates, Bartholomew Fussel, Wm. H. Fussels, *Vice-Presidents*,

James Rhoads, Henry Duffield, Benjamin S. Jones, Wm. B. Thomas, A. L. Post, *Secretaries*.

## NEW-YORK STATE A. S. CONVENTION

*Resolved*, That we regard the influence and efforts of American citizens, in exciting and supporting an insurrectionary war in Mexico, with loathing and horror.

That the south, in countenancing and encouraging insurrectionary movements in Mexico, has madly lent herself to assist in forging and sharpening the knife of the insurgent for her own defenceless throat.

That we feel disgraced and outraged by the efforts of American citizens to restore slavery to Texas; and that to the utmost of our power lawfully exercised, we will resist and call upon others to resist the introduction of Texas into our republic.

The sympathy which exists in behalf of Texas at the south, looks to other objects than the mere defence of that country. Texas is desired as an appendage to the strength of the south. They wish it annexed to the union, that the balance of power may still be found on the feeble side of 'Mason and Dixon's line.' Once let the cry for succor be rung through the land, and the annexation of Texas, they imagine, will be as easy as it is desirable. So reasons the south. Let the north reason otherwise. The Texians are not deserving of aid or sympathy. The invasion of that country by Santa Anna, is not unprovoked. It is in a great measure justified, in retaliation for the Santa Fe expedition, which had for its avowed purpose the subjugation and pillage of Mexico. The Texians have provoked the assault, and now they must abide the consequences, unless a fool-hardy and absurd idea prevails, that we must succor these men, because Texas affords a refuge for outlaws and desperadoes for the whole continent of North America.—*Phila. Gaz.*

There is little reason to believe that the independence of Texas would have been acknowledged if there had been any previous apprehension, in the minds of the people at large, that such an event was about to take place. Remonstrance upon remonstrance would have been poured upon the national legislature. But there was no effort, because there was no alarm. The message of president Jackson, and the speech of Gov. McDuffie, (whatever might have been intended by those documents,) undoubtedly had the effect to make the almost universal impression that no attempt would be made during the session, to acknowledge the independence of Texas. The im-

pression that it would not be attempted, was without doubt, the principal secret of its success. The friends of liberty and the union should see well to it that they are not caught slumbering a second time, on their posts. If they are, they must not be surprised if the wreck of our free institutions should finally prove to have been owing to their own inactivity and supineness. We call on all good citizens and especially on those who have influence with the individuals now in power, to step forward at a crisis like the present, and save the administration, by saving the country from blood guiltiness, from rebellion, from disgrace, disaster, and irretrievable ruin.—*Friend of Man.*

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*Message of President Jackson to the House of Representatives,  
December 22, 1836.*

The acknowledgment of a new state as independent and entitled to a place in the family of nations, is at all times an act of great delicacy and responsibility; but more especially so, when such state has forcibly separated itself from another, of which it had formed an integral part, and which still claims dominion over it. A premature recognition, under these circumstances, if not looked upon as justifiable cause of war, is always liable to be regarded as a proof of an unfriendly spirit to one of the contending parties.

Extract from the general order of General Jackson, for the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister: "It is an established principle of the law of nations, that any individual, of any nation, making war against the citizens of another nation, they being at peace, forfeits his allegiance, and becomes an outlaw and a pirate."

If this principle is correct, then by the rules of war, Santa Anna was right in executing the prisoners that he took in Texas, for they were, most of them, confessedly of this country. Here were their homes, before a love of plunder and of glory induced them to go to Texas, to fight against a government with which their native country was at peace.—*Liberator.*

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WILLIAM B. TAPPAN.

Admit her to the Union? Yes!

If our democracy can bow  
To kings, and is prepared to kiss  
The loathsome hem of tyrants now  
From principles that years have tried  
If thus we fall, no longer men,  
And to our fathers' deeds of pride  
Are recreant—why admit her then!

If slavery's foul and damning spot  
Must here increase like Ahab's cloud,  
Blackening the moral heavens till not  
One star shall blaze upon the proud;  
If thus, a spectacle of scorn  
To nations, we're content,—let men  
Lift up the consummated horn  
Of infamy—admit her then!



THE FIRST SCENE IN BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

Granville Sharpe rescuing a young African, claimed as a slave, from his tyrant, in presence of the Mayor of London. Sharpe pursued his humane course, and his elaborate researches produced the work entitled, "The injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery," and procured the grand and glorious decision from the British courts of justice published in 1769, in the face of all Europe and the world, "That every slave was free as soon as he had set foot upon British ground." This Herculean achievement laid the corner stone of the hallowed temple of African liberty [since extended to all British Territories.] *David Simpson.*

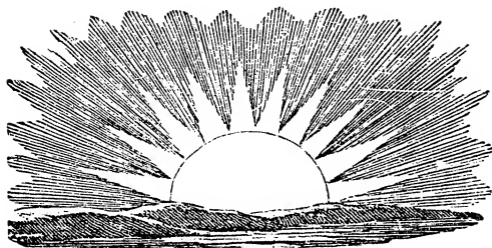
## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.



THE LAST SCENE IN BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

"After the 1st, Aug. 1834, SLAVERY shall be and is hereby utterly and forever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." *Act, 3d and 4th, William IV.*

This noble Act was trammelled with an apprenticeship (to slavery to prepare its victims for freedom!) Antigua and Berinuda, declined the proffered continuation, with, of course, the happiest results. The Legislatures of Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, and the West Indies generally, have done likewise and on Aug. 1, 1838, three-fourths of a million of human beings were, by law, restored to their birth-right by Nature.



*The Sun of Righteousness shall arise, with healing under his wings.*

JAMES A. THOME.

JOSEPH H. KIMBALL.

#### EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

The event of emancipation passed peaceably. The first of August, 1834, is universally regarded in ANTIGUA, as having presented a most imposing and sublime moral spectacle. It is almost impossible to be in the company of a missionary, a planter, or an emancipated negro, for ten minutes, without hearing some allusion to that occasion.

In every quarter we were assured that the day was like a Sabbath. Work had ceased, the hum of business was still, and noise and tumult were unheard on the streets. Tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. A Sabbath indeed! when the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary were at rest, and the slave was free from his master! The planters informed us that they went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged the most hearty good wishes.

There has been since emancipation, not only no rebellion in fact, but no fear of it in Antigua. The militia were not called out during Christmas holidays. Before emancipation, martial law invariably prevailed on the holidays, but the very first Christmas after emancipation, the Governor made a proclamation stating that in consequence of the abolition of slavery, it was no longer necessary to resort to such a precaution. There has not been a parade of soldiery on any subsequent Christmas.

Emancipation is regarded by all classes as a great blessing to the island. There is not a class, or party, or sect, who do not esteem the abolition of slavery as a special blessing to them. The rich, because it relieved them of "property" which was fast becoming a disgrace, as it had always been a vexation and a tax, and because it has emancipated them from the terrors of insurrection, which kept them all their life time subject to bondage. The poor whites—be-

cause it lifted from off them the yoke of civil oppression. The free colored population—because it gave the death blow to the prejudice that crushed them, and opened the prospect of social, civil, and political equality with the whites. The slaves—because it broke open their dungeon, led them out to liberty, and gave them, in one munificent donation, their wives, their children, their bodies, their souls—every thing!

The negroes work more cheerfully, and do their work better than they did during slavery. Wages are found to be an ample substitute for the lash—they never fail to secure the amount of labor desired. This is particularly true where task work is tried, which is done occasionally in cases of a pressing nature, when, considerable effort is required.

The governor said, "The negroes are as a race remarkable for docility; they are very easily controlled by kind influence. It is only necessary to gain their confidence, and you can sway them as you please."

Let it be remembered that the negroes of Antigua passed, "by a single jump, from absolute slavery to unqualified freedom." In proof of their subordination to law, we give the testimony of planters, and quote also from the police reports sent in monthly to the Governor.

"I have found that the negroes are readily controlled by law; more so perhaps than the laboring classes in other countries."—*David Granstoun, Esq.*

"The conduct of the negro population generally, has surpassed all expectation. They are as pliant to the hand of legislation, as any people; perhaps more so than some."—*Wesleyan Missionary.*

"Before emancipation took place, there was the bitterest opposition to it among the planters. But after freedom came, they were delighted with the change. I felt strong opposition myself, being accordingly unwilling to give up my power of command. But I shall never forget how differently I felt when freedom took place. I arose from my bed on the first of August, exclaiming with joy, 'I am free, I am free; I was the greatest slave on the estate, but now I am free.'"—*Mr. J. Howell.*

BARBADOES.—"The state of crime is not so bad by any means as we might have expected among the negroes—just released from such a degrading bondage. Considering the state of ignorance in which they have been kept, and the immoral examples set them by the lower class of whites, it is matter of astonishment that they should behave so well.

"The apprentices would have a great respect for law, were it not for the erroneous proceedings of the managers, overseers, &c. in taking them before the magistrates for every petty offence, and often abusing the magistrate in the presence of the apprentices, when his decision does not please them.

"Not the slightest sense of insecurity. As a proof of this, property has, since the commencement of the apprenticeship, increased in value considerably—at least one third.

"The most prejudiced planters would not return to the old system if they possibly could. They admit that they got more work from

the laborers now than they formerly did, and they are relieved from a great responsibility."—*Joseph Hamilton*.

According to the declaration of one of the special magistrates, "Barbadoes has long been distinguished for its devotion to slavery." There is probably no portion of the globe where slave-holding, slave-driving, and slave-labor, have been reduced to a more perfect system. The records of slavery in Barbadoes are stained with bloody atrocities. The planters uniformly spoke of slavery as a system of cruelties.

The slaves were not unfrequently worked in the streets of Bridgetown with chains on the wrists and ankles. Flogging on the estates and in the town, were no less public than frequent, and there was an utter shamelessness often in the manner of its infliction. Even women were stripped naked on the sides of the streets, and their backs lacerated with the whip. It was a common practice, when a slave offended a white man, for the master to send for a public whipper, and order him to take the slave before the door of the person offended, and flog him till the latter was satisfied. White females would order their male slaves to be stripped naked in their presence and and flogged, while they would look on to see that their orders were faithfully executed. Mr. Prescod mentioned an instance which he himself witnessed near Bridgetown. He had seen an aged female slave, stripped and whipped by her own son, a child of twelve, at the command of the mistress.

Hostility to emancipation prevailed in Barbadoes. That island has always been peculiarly attached to slavery. From the beginning of the anti-slavery agitations in England, the Barbadians distinguished themselves by their inveterate opposition. As the grand result approximated they increased their resistance. They appealed, remonstrated, begged, threatened, deprecated, and imprecated. They continually protested that abolition would ruin the colony—that the negroes could never be brought to work—especially to raise sugar—without the whip. They both besought and demanded of the English that they should cease their interference with their private affairs and personal property.

From statements already made, the reader will see how great a change has come over the feelings of the planters. If he has followed us, he has seen tranquillity taking the place of insurrections, a sense of security succeeding to gloomy forebodings, and public order supplanting mob law; he has seen subordination to authority, peacefulness, industry, and increasing morality, characterizing the negro population; he has seen property rising in value, crime lessening, expenses of labor diminishing, the whole island blooming with unexampled cultivation, and waving with crops unprecedented in the memory of its inhabitants; above all, he has seen licentiousness decreasing, prejudice fading away, marriage extending, education spreading, and religion preparing to multiply her churches and missionaries over the land.

These are the blessings of abolition—begun only, and but partially realized as yet, but promising a rich maturity in time to come, after the work of freedom shall have been completed.

We were introduced to the Solicitor-General, WILLIAM HENRY ANDERSON, Esq. of Kingston. Mr. A. is a Scotchman, and has resided in Jamaica for more than six years. We found him the fearless advocate of negro emancipation. He exposed the corruptions and abominations of the apprenticeship without reserve. He says ;

"A very material change for the better has taken place in the sentiments of the community since slavery was abolished. Religion and education were formerly opposed as subversive of the security of property ; now they are in the most direct manner encouraged as its best support. The value of all kinds of property has risen considerably, and a general sense of security appears to be rapidly pervading the public mind. I have not heard one man assert that it would be an advantage to return to slavery, even were it practicable ; and I believe that the public is beginning to see that slave-labor is not the cheapest.

"The prejudices against color are rapidly vanishing. I do not think there is a respectable man, I mean one who would be regarded as respectable on account of his good sense and weight of character, who would impugn another's conduct for associating with persons of color. So far as my observation goes, those who would formerly have acted on these prejudices, will be ashamed to own that they had entertained them. The distinction of superior acquirements still belongs to the whites, as a body ; but that, and character, will shortly be the only distinguishing mark recognized among us.

"I think the negroes might have been emancipated as safely in 1834, as in 1840 ; and had the emancipation then taken place, they would be found much further in advance in 1840, than they can be after the expiration of the present period of apprenticeship, through which all, both apprentices and masters, are laboring heavily."

Trade is now equalizing itself among all classes. A spirit of competition is awakened, banks have been established, steam navigation introduced, rail-roads projected, old highways repaired, and new ones opened. The descendants of the slaves are rapidly supplying the places which were formerly filled by whites from abroad.

We had some conversation with several apprentices, who called on Mr. Bourne for advice and aid. They all thought the apprenticeship very hard, but still, on the whole, liked it better than slavery. They "were killed too bad,"—that was their expression—during slavery—were worked hard and terribly flogged. They were up ever so early and late—went out in the mountains to work, when so cold busha would have to cover himself up on the ground. Had little time to eat, or go to meeting. 'Twas all slash, slash ! Now they couldn't be flogged, unless the magistrate said so. Still the busha was very hard to them, and many of the apprentices run away to the woods, they are so badly used.

The actual working of the apprenticeship in Jamaica, was the specific object of our investigations in that island. That it had not operated so happily as in Barbadoes, and in most of the other colonies, was admitted by all parties. As to the degree of its failure, we were satisfied it was not so great as had been represented. There has been nothing of an insurrectionary character since the abolition.

JOHN JAY.

We seek in vain in the page of history for the results of honesty, justice and kindness, as exemplified in the dealings of nation towards nation; or in the conduct of the mighty and powerful towards the defenceless and the weak. It was reserved for England to furnish this missing chapter in the history of the world—this unlinned picture in the Gallery of Time.

Thus will Truth and Justice finally triumph over falsehood and oppression. Their high influence, viewless as the winds, and intangible as the magnet's sympathy, wafted from heart to heart, with all the powers of Nature for allies, gathers strength with each setting sun; and the oppressors who, trembling with the presentiment of defeat, attempt to stay the progress of Liberty by fierce resolves, and penal laws, and brutal force, exhibit wisdom akin to that of Xerxes, when he would bind the Hellespont with fetters, and punish it with scourges.

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ORVILLE L. HOLLEY.

A black empire is destined to spread over the Caribbean sea, and shelter, under the banner of its power, the long-bound descendants of Africa! Well—let it spread! If there be any truth in the original excuse for bringing negroes to the tropical regions of America, that white men could not cultivate their soil, and live, it will be a fortunate event for agriculture, commerce and humanity; for if the islands yield their products so abundantly to the labor of chained slaves, how much more largely will they repay the cultivation of freemen!

Let it spread—for if the horrible slave-trade is ever to be actually abolished, it must be preceded by cutting off the ownership of Europe in every territory where white hands cannot, or will not labor. Let it spread—for if old Africa is ever to be civilized—if her parched solitudes are ever to be refreshed by the streams of knowledge, and smile with the green and bloomy growth of intellectual and moral culture—if ever Ethiopia is to "stretch forth her hands to God," and the Sun of Righteousness wheel his bright chariot over the idle realms of that benighted continent, it must all be done through the instrumentality of her American offspring. And it shall be done. The warm-hearted men, whom their brethren sold into bondage, are destined yet to supply those brethren with the best of food, from the full granaries of their power, and wealth, and knowledge: the silver cup too shall be sent along, in which to pledge the wine of reconciliation and joy, for the famine shall be removed from the land of their fathers.

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ANONYMOUS GIFT OF \$2,000, AUGUST 1, 1838.

"One who abhors the sham republicanism of a republic which holds nearly three millions of men, women, and children in slavery—who loathes from the lowest depths of his soul the time-serving, pusillanimous and spurious christianity of churches which refuse to

'cry aloud' or even to cry at all against the system which prohibits marriage and the reading of the Bible, and authorizes the trafficking in immortal god-like men, as if they were beasts—and who greatly admires the unflinching courage and christian integrity, and genuine republicanism of the American Anti-Slavery Society, herewith encloses, on this Glorious Anniversary of British emancipation, to the Treasurer of said Society, a gift of TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS."—*Letter to James Birney.*

## CINQUEZ AND THE AMISTAD CAPTIVES.

Thirty-eight fellow-men from Africa, after having been piratically kidnapped from their native land, transported across the seas, and subjected to atrocious cruelties, have been thrown upon our shores, and are now incarcerated in jail to await their trial for crimes alleged by their oppressors to have been committed by them. They are ignorant of our language, of the usages of civilized society, and the obligations of christianity. Under these circumstances, several friends of human rights have met to consult upon the case of these unfortunate men, and have appointed the undersigned a committee to employ interpreters and able counsel, and take all the necessary means to secure the rights of the accused. It is intended to employ three legal gentlemen of distinguished abilities, and to incur other needful expenses.

SIMEON S. JOCELYN,  
JOSHUA LEAVITT,  
LEWIS TAPPAN.

"The Africans had just arrived at Havana, probably under American colors. But whether they came under American or Spanish colors, it was piracy to bring them there. It was in violation of the laws both of this country and of Spain. Violation of law and the rights of the Africans was continued in another vessel, by their illegal imprisonment. Don Ruez became another jailor and received the robbed or stolen property, even by the Spanish laws, knowing it to be such, with an intention to work them for life. They rise for freedom and for Africa; not for blood, nor for booty."

"Those blacks, when they left Havana, and were sailing on God's broad, free ocean, where in a state of involuntary durance and forced servitude; while the elements and every thing around them were redolent of freedom, they alone were prisoners and slaves. They were bound by no parole of honor, they had made no compact, and they were morally and by the laws of action usually recognized by christian natives, justified in setting themselves free. They were forcibly and wrongfully restrained of their liberty, and under such circumstances, had a right to regain it even by the destruction of their enslavers. These blacks nobly resolved to achieve their freedom; they gained it at the hazard of their lives. They obtained it, and it is theirs; and we have no right to take it away from them. By the common opinion of patriots in all times and in all countries, those who make a generous and successful struggle to throw off the chain of slavery are noble and great, and entitled to admiration; and we

see not why Joseph Cinquez, who conceived and executed the design of liberating himself and fellow prisoners from their captivity, and who aroused and stimulated them to regain their liberty, and steer their bark for the shores of their native Africa, is not as much entitled to the appellation of a great, generous and patriotic man, as was William Tell, whose praises have been the theme of every pen and tongue. They both strove for the same noble end, for the same noble reason."

"On the fifth night, the captain being asleep on a matress on deck, with his mulatto slave by his side, was attacked by this chief, with a sugar knife. The first blow did not inflict great injury, for after receiving it, he called to Antonio, also his own slave, and a cabin boy, to get some bread and throw it among the negroes, hoping thereby to pacify them. He was overpowered and slain by Joseph.

"About two days after the rising they had a heavy gale, which drifted them into the Bahama channel. Here they boxed about again, but saw no vessels; at last, being out of water, the negroes ordered Montez to make the nearest land, which proved to be the island of St. Andrews. Here the negroes met no one. After this Montez steered for New-Providence, but the negroes were not disposed to land. By this time Joseph had learned to steer, and he took the helm in the day, leaving one of the white men to steer at night. Every night Joseph slept near the helm, and had two of the most trusty negroes by his side watching, and ready to awake him on the least alarm. Joseph lived abstemiously during the whole trouble, and insisted on the most perfect obedience to his orders. The only food eaten was portioned out by his hand, and not a box of the cargo opened but under his direction. He divided the spoil, taking the smallest portion for himself. He was the master spirit on board; every thing felt his influence."

The marshal committed Joseph Cinquez, the leader, and 38 others, as named in the indictment, for trial before the circuit court at Hartford, holden on the 17th Sept. 1833.—*N. Y. Papers.*

*Washington, March 9, 1841.*

The captives are free! The part of the decree of the district court, which placed them at the disposal of the President of the United States to be sent to Africa is reversed. They are to be discharged from the custody of the marshal—free. The rest of the decision of the courts below, is affirmed.

"Not unto us—not unto us, &c."—*J. Q. ADAMS.*

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### NATHANIEL SOUTHARD.

The great work of abolishing slavery in New-York is finished. The legislature closed its session on Wednesday of last week, May 26th, 1841. In the midst of the hurry at the close of the session, they found time to wipe off the last stain of slavery from our statute-books. The law, as it was before, made southern despotism a traveling institution, and not "peculiar" to those states in which one-half the inhabitants are made free plunder for those who are "nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny." The home citizen of New-York was not permitted to force his neighbor to work without wages, to turn woman into a beast of burden, and rear her tender infants for the flesh-market. But let the New-Yorker buy a Georgia plantation, and suck wealth from the blood of plundered laborers, he could pollute our soil, insult our citizens, and disgrace our state, by openly scourging his human-cattle in our streets, and our laws would protect him in it, provided he lived part of the year in a slave state.

While we rejoice at this triumph of truth and humanity, let us renew our efforts to scatter light, in the joyful hope that the darkness of slavery will flee before it, and the sun, as it shines across our broad country, from ocean to ocean, shall cease to look on a slave.

#### MORE SLAVES FIGHTING FOR LIBERTY.

The public mind is again excited by a case somewhat like that of the *Amistad*. The slaves are free, but not on American soil. This republic was the house of their bondage, and they were victims of the American slave trade, which a distinguished Virginian law-maker, once declared was worse than the foreign.

On the 27th of October, the brig *Creole*, of Richmond, left Virginia, with 135 slaves for New-York. They had been out 11 days, when they made a desperate effort to gain their freedom, their leader was a slave named WASHINGTON MADISON. They first shot the mate, about 9 o'clock, at night. He alarmed the captain, who had "turned in." Both escaped up the rigging, and concealed themselves at the main-top. Mr. Hewell, the man who dared to claim these men as property, was on board. He shot one of them dead, and "fought afterwards like a tiger," as the New-Orleans *Picayune* expresses it, till he was himself killed. The mate was discovered the next day in his hiding place, and compelled to navigate the vessel to the British island of New-Providence, where one or two cargoes of slaves have been previously liberated. Nineteen of them, who had taken part in the rebellion, were confined as criminals, but the governor would not send them to American at present. The rest were set free, and most of them went directly to Jamaica. May the Lord make their liberty, thus violently taken, a blessing to them.

Truly, all friends of the slave-holders, should labor to overthrow the horrid system which hurried Mr. Hewell to such a terrible death. This case will excite much wrath towards Great Britain, but we think it will not lead to war.

*Youth's Cabinet.*

## HOWE PETER.

When the Marquis of Sligo retired from the government of the island of Jamaica, in 1836, the apprentices raised a contribution amounting to \$1,000, to procure a suitable testimonial of their gratitude to his lordship, for the protection and kindness afforded by his administration. This sum was sent home by the hand of Joseph Sturge, and placed in the hands of a committee in London, consisting of T. F. Buxton, Esq. Rt. Hon. Dr. Lushington, M.P. Sir George Stephen, Capt. Moorsom, R.N. W. B. Gurney, Esq. Rev. John Dyer, Rev. John Burnet, Joseph Sturge, Esq. and John Sturge. The committee procured a splendid silver candelabrum, which they presented to his lordship, March 16, 1839, with a suitable address, in the presence of Lord Brougham, Sir George Strickland, Hon. C. P. Villers, M.P. W. Evans, Esq. M.P. Jos. Pease, Esq. M.P. and others. In his reply, the noble Marquis said,

"It is with feelings of no little pride that I receive this testimonial of the gratitude and good opinion of the Negroes of Jamaica. When I remember that the subscription for its purchase was made after I had left the island, when no advantage could be gained by its promotion, and that it is the only instance which ever has occurred, or can occur in these dominions, of the presentation of such a tribute of respect from persons still in a state of modified slavery, I value it so much that I would not exchange it for the highest distinction which the favor of my sovereign could bestow."

### THE INSCRIPTION.

"Presented to the most noble, Howe Peter, Marquis of Sligo, by the Negroes of Jamaica, in testimony of the grateful remembrance they entertain for his unremitting efforts to alleviate their sufferings and to redress their wrongs, during his just and enlightened administration of the government of the island, and of the respect and gratitude they feel towards his excellent lady and family, for the kindness and sympathy displayed towards them—1837."

## JOHN SCOBLE.

At a meeting in Chatham streets chapel, New-York 1839, prayer having been offered by Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, Mr. SCOBLE was introduced to the assembly by ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq. chairman of the meeting, and stated that he should prefer, that instead of making an address, questions be put to him that would elicit any information of which he might be possessed.

Mr. Scoble adduced facts to show that the planters, as a body, were never in so flourishing circumstances as now. Very many of them have paid off their mortgages, and made improvements on their estates. He then read an interesting passage from the Jamaica historian, Long, and documents furnished by the House of Assembly at Jamaica, giving a disastrous view of the island before emancipation, and contrasted it with the appearance at the present time. One of the gentlemen from Jamaica then said, he admitted that they did make excellent crops of sugar and coffee in 1838.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

Some one then asked about the comparative value of estates previous and subsequent to emancipation. Mr. Scoble replied that the value had increased from ten to fifty per cent in different colonies. He stated that a Mr. Allen, of Barbados, became alarmed, and sold his estates for £27,000 sterling, and soon afterwards repurchased it for £30,000 sterling. Indeed, said Mr. Scoble, the lands now will sell for as much as both land and slaves would bring under the system of slavery.

A question was then put relative to the moral character of the negroes since emancipation. Mr. Scoble went on to state that the number of prisoners, in the jails, had greatly decreased from 1836 to 1839, that almost all those confined for capital offences were white men, that the offences committed by the negroes were generally petty assaults on each other; that there had not been one conviction for any assault by a negro on a white man since emancipation! He proceeded to remark that now marriage was sanctioned by law, and was "honorable in all." A great improvement had taken place, in this respect, among the whites as well as blacks. That during his whole tour through the British West Indies he had not met with a single planter who said he was willing to return to the old system. He said he would appeal to the gentlemen from Jamaica now present, if he were incorrect. They both exclaimed, "certainly not." (Great applause.) A planter of great respectability in Barbados, told Mr. Scoble that he remembered the time when he thought he would be doing God service if he had put a pistol ball through the brains of Wilberforce or Buxton; but that now he could go on his knees and clasp theirs, and bless them for the abolition of slavery.

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## HERODOTUS.

Of the fame of EGYPT's wisdom all have heard—of the gigantic size of her eternal pyramids—the splendor of her twenty thousand cities—of Thebes with her hundred gates and superb palaces and temples—of the wisdom of her laws and policy—of her mighty conqueror SESOSTRIS, who drew Kings at his chariot wheels and left monumental inscriptions of his prowess from Ethiopia to India; all this is well known, but many will be startled to be told that Egypt—ancient, renowned, victorious Egypt, the mother of science and arts, both ancient and modern, was inhabited by negroes; that the Egyptians were in fact black, curly headed negroes! Startle not, gentle reader, you shall have the best of testimony—that of an eye witness—no other than the father of history, HERODOTUS.

"The priestesses of Dodona assert, says he, "that two black pigeons flew from Thebes, in Egypt, one of which settled in Africa, the other among themselves, which latter resting on the branch of a dead tree declared with a human voice, that here, by divine appointment, was to be an oracle of love." Herodotus accounts for this fable, by supposing that the fabled pigeons were two Egyptian priestesses carried away from Egypt as he had been told at another temple, by the Phenicians. "The name of doves was probably given them because, being strangers, the sound of their voices might to the

people of Dodona seem to resemble the tone of those birds, and the circumstances of their being black explains to us their Egyptian origin. Herod, 2 book.

Again, in speaking of the Colchians, a people of Asia, he says, "The Colchians certainly appear to be of Egyptian origin." Having interrogated both nations on this point, the Egyptians were of opinion that the Colchians were descended of part of the troops of Sesostriis, (their ancient conqueror and King.) To this I am also inclined, because they are *black* and have *hair short and curling*."

In remarking on the second quotation from Herodotus, VOLNEY says, "It shows that the ancient Egyptians were real Negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa; and though, as might be expected, after mixing for so many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they have lost the intensity of their first color, yet they still retain strong marks of their original conformation."—*Journal and Luminary*.



*Go and do thou likewise.—Luke, Chap. X.*

#### JOHN HOWARD.

He visited all Europe, (and the east,) not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals, or to collate manuscripts: but to dive into the depth of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, oppression and contempt; to remember the forgotten; to attend to the neglected; to visit the forsaken; and to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery, a circumnavigation of charity; and already the benefit of his labor is felt more or less in every country.—*Edmund Burke.*

NATURE! on thy maternal breast

Forever be his worth engraved!

Thy bosom only can attest

How many a life his toil has saved.

Eager, he steer'd with every sail unfurl'd

A friend to every clime! a Patriot of the World!—*Wm. Hayley.*

Oh Charity! our helpless nature's pride,

Thou friend of him, who knows no friend beside,

Is aught so fair beneath the heavens' gleam,

As from thine eye the meek and pensive beam.

Thine are the ample views that unconfin'd

Stretch to the utmost walks of human kind;

Thine is the spirit that with widest plan

Brother to Brother binds, and Man to Man.

*Bowles.*



## HUMANITY, or the RIGHTS OF NATURE

BY S. J. PRATT.

The Muse is kneeling at Compassion's shrine,  
 Her opening lay, **HUMANITY**, be thine !  
 Thee she invokes, oh ! soother of distress,  
 Who with our kindness wove our happiness ;  
 For as thy circling virtues round us move,  
 From our best *deeds* thy brightest *joys* we prove ;  
 Good is of good productive, ill, of ill,  
 Conscience o'er both exerts her empire still,  
 And this great truth, shall ev'ry tyrant know,  
**THE WHO HE GIVES, SHALL BE REPAID BY WO.**  
 The Rights of Man by Nature aye are due,  
 To men of every clime and every hue.

Why are sires torn from children and from wife,  
 Dragg'd at the Car of Trade, and chain'd for life ;  
 And why do human hecatombs expire,  
 Smote by her mangling whip and murderous fire ?  
 Those stripes, and killing shrieks that rend the air,  
 Ill fated **AFRICA** ! thy wrongs declare.  
 Avarice, the founder of this impious trade,  
 Made *him* a slave, that Nature never made,  
 Tore the poor Lybian from his native soil,  
 And chain'd him down to never-ending toil.

If giant **Power** confers this wanton sway,  
 Subdues the strong, and makes the weak obey,  
 Does Power give **RIGHT** ? beware that dangerous plea,  
 Perchance, such power may spread its right to thee.  
 The slave once stronger than thyself, shall stand,  
 And seize the sceptre of usurp'd command ;

Arm'd with thy iron scourge shall bid thee toil,  
 Scar thy white skin, and chain thee to the soil:  
 Thy spirit fainting in the glare of day,  
 Shall bid thee naked, brave the Syrian ray,  
 Thy scorn retort, retaliate all thy rage,  
 Wear out thy youth, and murder thee in age;  
 Tear from thy fetter'd arms thy child and wife,  
 And blast the budding promises of life;  
 Repay, in turn, each stroke thy baseness gave,  
 And make THEE feel what 'tis to be a Slave.

Ah! false as fatal! to the Weak and Strong,  
 Th' inherent Rights of Nature still belong:  
 No partial principles the just impel  
 To thinking wisely, or to acting well;  
 And Liberty, of all mankind the cause,  
 Becomes a forfeit *only* to the laws,  
 Those sacred compacts which like links sustain,  
 Connecting parts of the great social chain:  
 And while, with these, no member is at strife,  
 As full the right to liberty as life:  
 Avaunt! asserters of *superior* right,  
 And vain distinctions between *black* and *white*.  
 Firm and immoveable on Nature's base,  
 Stands the grand charter of the human race:  
 And HE who gave the blessing gave it free:  
 Life were a curse if robb'd of Liberty!

Vain all dispute of color, form or size,  
 In pride, in pride alone the difference lies;  
 Whence, then, presumptuous man, deriv'd thy right,  
 And by what law does olive yield to white?  
 Their nature, origin, and end, the same,  
 Why has not brown, black, copper, equal claim?  
 Though shifting colors like their parent earth,  
 Alike their species and alike their birth.

Tyrants o'er brutes with ease extend the plan,  
 And rise in cruelty from beast to man:  
 Their sordid policy each crime allows,  
 The flesh that quivers and the blood that flows,  
 The furious stripes that mangle in a day,  
 Or torturing arts that kill by dire delay;  
 The fainting spirit, and the bursting vein,  
 All, all are reconcil'd to Christian gain.

In cold barbarian apathy behold,  
 Sits the slave agent bending o'er his gold;  
 That base contractor for the chain and rod,  
 Who buys and sells the image of his God.  
 Callous to ev'ry touch that Nature lends,  
 The bond that ties him to his kind he rends,  
 Robber at once and butcher of his slaves,  
 Nor grief, nor sickness, age nor sex, he saves,  
 But plung'd in traffic, coldly can debate,

## HUMANITY, OR THE RIGHTS OF NATURE,

The parent's destiny, the infant's fate ;  
The teeming mother of her hope despoil ;  
And poise the gains of child-birth or of toil ;  
The sighs and groans which spring from both he spurns,  
For life or death 'tis gold the balance turns.

O pride enormous ! impudence of man !  
But let not Britons imitate the plan,  
Frame no false systems and then call them wise,  
Or make distinctions where no difference lies ;  
Alas ! full oft the fair European face,  
Masks a mind darker than the darkest race ;  
The Negro's heart may be a purer shrine,  
For thoughts devout, O ! haughty White, than thine,  
Acceptance find more gracious from its God,  
Than the proud master who uplifts the rod.

Oh ! tyrant White, forget alike thy gold,  
And every virtue in thy Black behold,  
All that is honor'd, lov'd, or priz'd by thee,  
In thy scourg'd Negro, blushing, shalt thou see.

Yet who the Negro's *sufferings* can relate,  
Or mark the varied horrors of their fate ;  
Where, blushing Truth ! shall we their griefs begin,  
Or how commence the catalogue of Sin ?

Demons of torture ! ye who mock at wo,  
And smile to see the crimson blood-track flow,  
In horrid triumph rise from central Hell,  
Th' inventive pangs of Christian growth to tell,  
Oh ! aid the shuddering Muse to paint the grief,  
Which calls on death for pity and relief ;  
Oh ! powers of Mercy, loose that massy yoke,  
Oh ! hold that Arm, for murder's in the stroke !

Behold that axe the quivering limb assails,  
Behold that body weltering in its wails !  
Ah ! hear that bludgeon fall, that lash resound,  
And see those wretches writhing on the ground !

See yonder mangled mass of Atoms lie,  
Behold that Christian's hands the flames apply,  
At the bare feet is laid that sulphurous train,  
It climbs the heart and burns into the brain !

Ye friends of man ! whose souls with mercy glow,  
Throb not your breasts with sympathising wo ?

Fires not the social blood within your veins,  
To make the White Man feel the Negro's pains ?  
Beat not your hearts the miscreant arms to bind,  
Of the proud Christian with a savage mind ?

Do you not pant to snap the impious chain,  
And rush to succor the insulted train ?  
From servile bonds, to free the hapless race,  
And fix the haughty tyrants in their place ?  
Make THEM the weight of Slav'ry to know,

'Till their hard natures melt in mutual wo,  
Nor till they humanize to social men,  
Would ye restore them to their rights again

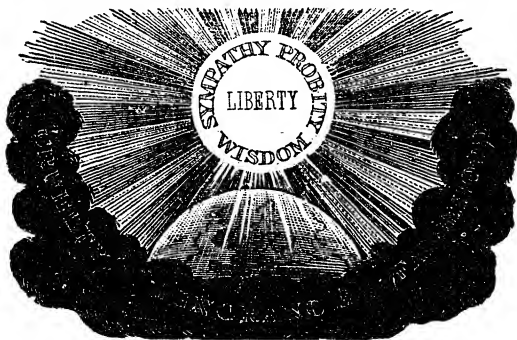
Oh ! FREEDOM, sacred Goddess ! who inspires  
Th' untutor'd Savage with sublimest fires,  
Oft have their Chiefs o'er listed troops prevail'd,  
And Nature's warriors sped where armies fail'd ;  
While the bought soldier in his trade of death,  
With sordid contracts bargains for his breath,  
And the brave Indian from his fetters broke  
Ev'n Famine braves to feel no more the yoke.

What will not FREEDOM's Heav'n-descended fire,  
In cultur'd, or untutor'd Souls inspire ?  
The RIGHTS OF NATURE and of God to save,  
Men scoop the rock and build upon the wave.

And lo ! methinks, on Fancy's wing convey'd,  
The Muse already gains the palmy shade,  
Herself the messenger, to Southern plains  
Ardent she flies to break the tyrant-chains.  
"I come, I come to set the Captive free,  
Ye suffering Heirs of sweet HUMANITY,  
Whose Minds can reason, and whose Hearts can move,  
With all the joys and agonies of Love,  
Sublime on Nature's scale again ye rise  
Equals on Earth, as equals in the skies.  
Where Freedom bids, now take your blithsome way,  
Yours the fair morn, and yours the closing day,  
Yours is the jocund eve, its sports command  
Or on the cooling wave or burning sand,  
If in your breasts the Patriot passions burn  
To your lov'd Country, to your Homes return,  
Free, unconfin'd, where'er your course ye bend,  
Still, still shall Liberty your steps attend !  
*Negroes are Men, and Men are Slaves no more*  
*Fair Freedom reigns, and Tyranny is o'er !"*

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

*Freedom's glorious Sun dispelling the black chaos of Slavery.*



### PERCY BYSCHE SHELLEY.

#### ODE TO LIBERTY.

Oh, keener thy gaze than the Lightning's glare,  
And swifter thy step than the Earthquake's tramp;  
Thou deafenest the rage of the Ocean; thy stare  
Makes blind the Volcanos; the Sun's bright lamp  
To thine is a fenfire damp.

From billow and mountain and exhalation  
The sunlight is darted through vapor and blast;  
From spirit to spirit, from nation to nation,  
From city to hamlet thy dawning is cast,—  
And tyrants and slaves are like shadows of night  
In the van of the Morning Light!

---

Nor where the tropics bound the realms of day,  
Was man a nobler being; Slavery  
Had crushed him to his country's blood-stained dust;  
Or he was bartered for the fame of power  
Which all internal impulses destroying,  
Makes human will an article of trade;  
Or he was changed with Christians for their gold,  
And dragged to distant isles, where to the sound  
Of the flesh-mangling scourge, he does the work  
Of all-polluting luxury and wealth,  
Which doubly visits on the tyrants' heads,  
The long protracted fullness of their woe.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

GEORGE GORDON BYRON.

And thus they plod in sluggish misery,  
Rotting from sire to son, and age to age,  
Proud of their trampled nature, and so die,  
Bequeathing their hereditary rage  
To the new race of inborn slaves, who wage  
War for their chains, and rather than be free,  
Bleed, gladiator-like, and still engage  
Within the same arena, where they see  
Their fellows fall before, like leaves of the same tree.

Yet let us ponder boldly—'tis a base  
Abandonment of reason to resign  
Our right of thought—our last and only place  
Of refuge ; this, at least, shall still be mine :  
Though from our birth the faculty divine  
Is chain'd and tortured—cabin'd, cribb'd, confined,  
And bred in darkness, lest the truth should shine  
Too brightly on the unprepared mind,  
The beam pours in, for time and skill will couch the blind.

---

JOHN MILTON,

Wrote the following lines in reference to the detraction which assailed him on account of his writing in favor of liberty :

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs,  
By the known rules of ancient Liberty,  
When straight a barbarous noise environs me,  
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes and dogs ;  
As when those hinds, that were transformed to frogs,  
Rail'd at Latona's twin-born progeny,  
Which after hold the sun and moon in fee.  
But this is got by casting pearl to hogs  
That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,  
And still revolt when TRUTH would set them free.  
License they mean when they cry liberty ;  
For who loves THAT must first be wise and good :  
But from that mark how far they rove we see,  
For all this waste of wealth, and loss of blood.

ON HIS BLINDNESS.

Cyriac, this three-year's-day these eyes, though clear  
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,  
Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot ;  
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear  
Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,  
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not  
Against Heaven's hand or will ; nor bate a jot  
Of heart and hope ; but still bear up and steer  
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask ?

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied  
IN LIBERTY'S DEFENCE, MY NOBLE TASK,  
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.  
This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask—  
Content, though blind, I had no better guide.

---

### ROBERT POLLOCK.

Who blushed alike to be, or have a slave.—  
Unchristian thought! on what pretence soe'er,  
Of right inherited, or else acquired;  
Of loss, or profit, or what plea you name,  
To buy or sell, to barter, whip, and hold  
In chains a being of celestial make—  
Of kindred form, of kindred faculties,  
Of kindred feelings, passions, thoughts, desires;  
Born free, and heir of an immortal hope!  
Thought villanious, absurd, detestable!  
Unworthy to be harbored in a fiend!—*Course of Time.*

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### JAMES GRAINGER.

Oh, did the tender muse possess the power,  
Which monarchs have and monarchs oft abuse:  
'Twould be the fond ambition of her soul  
To quell tyrannic sway; knock off the chains  
Of heart debasing slavery; give to man  
Of every color, and of every clime,  
Freedom, which stamps him image of his God.  
Then laws, Oppression's scourge, fair virtue's prop,  
Offspring of wisdom! should impartial reign,  
To knit the whole in well accorded strife:  
Servants, not slaves; of choice, and not compelled.

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### THOMAS PRINGLE.

Oh Slavery! thou art a bitter draught!  
And twice accursed is thy poisoned bowl,  
Which taints with leprosy the white man's soul,  
Not less than his by whom its dregs are quaffed.  
The slave sinks down, o'ercome by cruel craft,  
Like beast of burthen on the earth to roll.  
The Master, though in luxury's lap he loll,  
Feels the foul venom, like a rankling shaft,  
Strike through his reins. As if a demon laughed,  
He, laughing, treads his victim in the dust—  
The victim of his avarice, rage, or lust.  
But the poor Captive's moan the whirlwinds waft  
To Heaven—not unavenged. The oppressor quakes  
With secret dread, *and shares the hell he makes.*

THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

GEORGE W. F. HOWARD.

LORD MORPETH.

Proudly on Cressy's tented world  
The Lion flag of England flew ;  
As proudly gleamed its crimson fold  
O'er the dun heights of Waterloo :  
But other lyres shall greet the brave,  
Sing now, that we have freed the slave.

Bright Science, through each field of space,  
Has urged her mist-dispelling car,  
Coy Nature's hidden reign to trace,  
To weigh each wind, and count each star :  
Yet stay, thou proud Philosophy,  
First stoop to bid Mankind be Free.

Ah ! for the tale the slave could speak,  
Ah ! for the shame of Britian's sway,  
On Afric's sands the maddened shriek,  
'Neath Indian suns the burning day :  
Ye sounds of guilt—ye sights of gore—  
Away ! for Slavery is no more.

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ALEXANDER CARLILE.

*Land of the Free!* shall that proud name  
Be blent with tyrant guilt and shame ?  
Lend all its lustre to a land,  
Where man's o'er rules God's great command ;  
Inverts the sacred order given  
To moral claims by righteous Heaven ;  
Yea, sets low Avarice above  
What gives to man God's image—Love  
Says Mercy may her bosom steel,  
So 'tis an alien race that feel ;  
And Justice may the blood first test,  
Then say which counter claim is best ;  
Adjudging each high claim of right,  
Just as the skin is dark or light ?

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JOSEPH ADDISON.

What is Life ?

'Tis not to stalk about and draw fresh air  
From time to time, or gaze upon the sun ;—  
'Tis to be free !—  
A day—an hour of virtuous Liberty  
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage !

## JOHN LOCKE.

Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hard to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it. The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will of legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of Nature for his rule. The liberty of man, in society, is to be under no other legislative power, but that established, by consent, in the commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any will, or restraint of any law, but what that legislature shall enact, according to the trust put in it. Every body has a property in his own person that nobody has any right to but himself. The labor of his body and the work of his hands we may say are properly his.—*Treatise on Government*

## ADAM SMITH.

Though the wear and tear of a free servant be equally at the expense of his master, it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing or repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of the slave, is commonly managed by a negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the free man, is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter. Under such different management, the same purpose must require very different degrees of expense to execute it. If great improvements are seldom to be expected from great proprietors, they are least of all to be expected when they employ slaves for their workmen. The experience of all ages and nations, I believe, demonstrates that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, is in the end the dearest of any. A person who can acquire no property, can have no interest but to eat as much, and to labor as little as possible. Whatever work he does beyond what is sufficient to purchase his own maintenance, can be squeezed out of him by violence only, and not by any interest of his own. In ancient Italy, how much the cultivation of corn degenerated, how unprofitable it became to the master, when it fell under the management of slaves, is remarked by both Pliny and Columella. In the time of Aristotle it had not been much better in ancient Greece.

As the profit and success of the cultivation which is carried on by means of cattle, depend very much upon the good management of those cattle; so the profit and success of that which is carried on by slaves, must depend equally upon the good management of those slaves; and in the good management of their slaves, the French planters, I think it is generally allowed, are superior to the English. The law, so far as it gives some weak protection to the slave against

the violence of his master, is likely to be better executed in a colony where the government is in a great measure arbitrary, than in one where it is altogether free. In every country where the unfortunate law of slavery is established, the magistrate, when he protects the slave, intermeddles in some measure in the management of the private property of the master; and, in a free country, where the master is perhaps either a member of the colony assembly, or an elector of such a member, he dares not do this, but with the greatest caution and circumspection. The respect which he is obliged to pay to the master, renders it more difficult for him to protect the slave. But in a country where the government is in a great measure arbitrary, where it is usual for the magistrate to intermeddle even in the private property of individuals, and to send them, perhaps, a *lettre de cachet*, if they do not manage it according to his liking, it is much easier for him to give some protection to the slave; and common humanity naturally disposes him to do so. The protection of the magistrate renders the slave less contemptible in the eyes of his master, who is thereby induced to consider him with more regard, and to treat him with more gentleness. Gentle usage renders the slave not only more faithful, but more intelligent, and therefore, upon a double account, more useful. He approaches more to the condition of a free servant, and may possess some degree of integrity and attachment to his master's interest; virtues which frequently belong to free servants, but which can never belong to a slave, who is treated as slaves commonly are in countries where the master is perfectly free and secure. That the condition of a slave is better under an arbitrary than under a free government, is, I believe, supported by the history of all ages and nations.—*Wealth of Nations*.

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### WILLIAM PALEY.

I define slavery to be "an obligation to labor for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the servant." This obligation may arise, consistently with the law of Nature, from three causes: 1. From crimes. 2. From captivity. 3. From debt. In the first case, the continuance of the slavery, as of any other punishment, ought to be proportioned to the crime; in the second and third cases, it ought to cease, as soon as the demand of the injured nation, or private creditor, is satisfied.

The slave trade upon the coast of Africa is not excused by these principles. When slaves in that country are brought to market, no questions, I believe, are asked about the origin or justice of the vender's title. It may be presumed, therefore, that this title is not always, if it be ever, founded in any of the causes above assigned.

But defect of right in the first purchase is the least crime, with which this traffick is chargeable. The natives are excited to war and mutual depredation, for the sake of supplying their contracts, or furnishing the market with slaves. With this the wickedness begins. The slaves, torn away from parents, wives, children, from their friends and companions, their fields and flocks, their home and country, are transported to the European settlements in America, with

no other accommodation on ship-board than what is provided for brutes. This is the second stage of cruelty ; from which the miserable exiles are delivered, only to be placed, and that for life, in subjection to a dominion and system of laws, the most merciless and tyrannical that ever were tolerated upon the face of the earth : and from all that can be learned by the accounts of the people upon the spot, the inordinate authority, which the plantation laws confer upon the slaveholder, is exercised, by the *English* slaveholder especially, with rigor and brutality.

But *necessity* is pretended ; the name under which every enormity is attempted to be justified. And, after all, what is the necessity ? It has never been proved that the land could not be cultivated there, as it is here, by hired servants. It is said that it could not be cultivated with quite the same conveniency and cheapness, as by the labor of slaves ; by which means a pound of sugar, which the planter now sells for sixpence, could not be afforded under six pence half penny ;—and this is the *necessity* !—*Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*.

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### THOMAS CHALMERS.

I shall never withhold the tribute of my reverence from that government which put an end to the atrocities of the slave-trade. I shall never forget the triumph, which, in that proudest day of Britain's glory, the cause of humanity gained within the walls of our enlightened parliament. Let my right hand forget her cunning, ere I forget that country of my birth, where, in defiance to all the clamors of mercantile alarm, every calculation of interest was given to the wind, and braving every hazard, she nobly resolved to shake off the whole burden of infamy, which lay upon her. I shall never forget, that how to complete the object in behalf of which she has so honorably led the way, she has walked the whole round of civilized society, and knocked at the door of every government of Europe, and lifted her imploring voice for injured Africa, and plead with the mightiest monarchs of the world, the cause of her outraged shores, and her distracted families. I can neither shut my heart nor my eyes to the fact, that at this moment she is stretching forth the protection of her naval arm, and shielding, to the uttermost of her vigor, that coast where an inhuman avarice is still plying its guilty devices, and aiming to perpetuate among an unoffending people, a trade of cruelty, with all the horrid train of its terrors and abominations. Were such a government as this to be swept from its base, either by the violence of foreign hostility, or by the hands of her own misled and infatuated children, I should never cease to deplore it as the deadliest interruption, which ever had been given to the interests of human virtue, and to the march of human improvement."—*Thoughts on Peace*.

The multiplicity, and the fearful aggravation, of the unredressed wrongs inflicted every day by man upon his fellows—The history of human society teems with these, and the unappeased cry, whether for vengeance or reparation, rises to heaven because of them. We

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

might here expatiate on the monstrous, the wholesale atrocities, perpetrated on the defenceless by the strong ; and which custom has almost legalized—having stood their ground against the indignation of the upright and the good for many ages. Perhaps for the most gigantic example of this, in the dark annals of our guilty world, we should turn our eyes upon injured Africa—that devoted region, where the lust of gain has made the fiercest and fellest exhibition of its hardihood ; and whose weeping families are broken up in thousands every year, that the families of Europe might the more delicately and luxuriously regale themselves. It is a picturesque, and seems a powerful argument for some future day of retribution, when we look on the one hand, to the prosperity of the lordly oppressor, wrung from the sufferings of a captive and subjugated people ; and look, on the other, to the tears and the untold agony of the hundreds beneath him, whose lives of dreariness and hard labor are tenfold embittered, by the imagery of that dear and distant land, from which they have been irrecoverably torn.”—*Natural Theology*.

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WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Scotland, thou hast not slept ! for years on years  
Thou hast denounced the trade of blood and tears ;  
Yet still thine arm is powerful—other climes  
Traffic in blood, and shame the world with crimes ;  
America—the temple of the Free—  
The boasted scene and stage of Liberty,—  
Dark with oppression, groans beneath a load  
Unjust to man and hateful unto God,  
Blackier and fouler, stained with deeper shame,  
Because it rests on Freedom’s lofty name ;  
Then let thy means be ever freely given,  
Thine influence lent, thy prayers ascend to heaven,  
Thy triumph-banner never more be furled,  
Till freedom reigns—oppression flies the world !  
EDINBURGH, July 30, 1834.

## JONATHAN DYMOND.

That any human being, who has not forfeited his liberty by his crimes, has a right to be free,—and that whosoever forcibly withholds liberty from an innocent man, robs him of his right, and violates the moral law, are truths which no man would dispute or doubt, if custom had not obscured our perceptions, or if wickedness did not prompt us to close our eyes.

The whole system is essentially and radically bad : injustice and oppression are its fundamental principles. Whatever lenity may be requisite in speaking of the agent, none should be shown, none should be expressed for the act. I do not affirm or imagine that every slaveholder is therefore a wicked man ; but if he be not, it is only upon the score of ignorance. If he is exempt from the guilt of violating the moral law, it is only because he does not perceive what it requires. Let us leave the deserts of the individual to Him who knoweth the heart : of his actions we may speak ; and we should speak in the language of reprobation, disgust, and abhorrence.

Although it could be shown that the slave system is expedient, it would not affect the question whether it ought to be maintained : yet it is remarkable that it is shown to be impolitic as well as bad. We are not violating the moral law because it fills our pockets. We injure ourselves by our own transgressions. The slave system is a costly iniquity, both to the nation and to individual men. It is matter of great satisfaction that this is known and proved : and yet it is just what, antecedently to inquiry, we should have reason to expect. The truth furnishes one addition to the many evidences, that even with respect to temporal affairs, that which is right is commonly politic ; and it ought therefore to furnish additional inducements to a fearless conformity of conduct, private and public, to the moral law.  
—*Essay on Morality.*

## GEORGE COMBE.

The race has never received justice from its European and American masters ; and until its treatment shall have become moral, its capabilities cannot be fairly estimated, and the judgment against it is therefore premature. Besides, whatever be its capabilities, it was a heinous moral transgression to transport it, by violent means, from the region where a wise and benevolent God had placed it, and to plant it in a new soil, and amidst institutions, for which it was never intended ; and the punishment of this offence will not be averted, but aggravated, by losing sight of the source of the transgression, and charging the consequences of it on the negroes, as if they were to blame for their alleged incapacity to glide gracefully into the ranks of American civilization. The negroes must either be improved by culture and intermarriages with the European race, or transferred to their native climate, before America can escape from the hands of divine justice. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the details of American social life, to be able to point out the practical form in which the punishment is inflicted ; but if there be truth in the principles now expounded, I cannot doubt of its existence.

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

The alternative of incorporating the negroes, by intermarriage, with the European race, appears revolting to the feelings of the latter; while they also declare it to be impossible to retransport the blacks to Africa, on account of their overwhelming numbers. There is much force in both of these objections, but there is still greater weight in the following considerations:—that the white race is exclusively to blame for the origin of the evil, and for all its consequences; that the natural laws never relax in their operation; and that, therefore, the existing evils will go on augmenting, until a remedy be adopted, which will become more painful the longer it is delayed. If the present state of things shall be continued for a century, it is probable that it will end in a war of extermination between the black and the white population; or in an attempt by the blacks to conquer and exclusively possess one or more of the southern states of the Union, as an independent kingdom for themselves.—*Constitution of Man.*

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### JAMES CROPPER.

In judging of this scheme, we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that, in many of the states, the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those states. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur, (from the state of morals in slave countries,) of fathers selling their own children!! From the latter has originated the colonization society; it arose out of those prejudices against color, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slave-holders so anxious to send away free people of color? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black laborers; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous of serving the free blacks, they would instruct them at home, (not a few of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

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### GEORGE THOMPSON.

As the friend of Africa,—claiming to be as much the friend of Africa as he who directs his attention exclusively to that country,—as the friend of Africa, I say look to India. (Hear.) Would you give security to Africa, would you starve the man-stealer from her shores? Would you dispense with ships of war around her shores, and render unnecessary the outlay of immense funds now employed? Would you give security to that now harrassed, impoverished, and disembowelled country? Look to India. You may immediately bring your cotton, your sugar, your rice, from thence; and as sure as you import it into this country, so surely will you stop, imme-

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

diately and for ever, the demand for slaves. (Applause.) And thus you are doing peacefully, and by most unexceptionable means, without lavish expenditure, without embassies, without treaties, without congresses, without any violation, direct or indirect, of any existing treaty, you are doing that which cannot be done, if you look at Africa only and forget India, without a vast deal of expense. Much time must elapse, much pains must be taken, many failures must be sustained, ere we can hope to see the plans that may be devised, however sapient the benevolence that originated, or active the energy that may work them, carried into successful operation. I say, therefore, look to India. If you can but render slavery so unprofitable—unnecessary, and therefore unprofitable—as to put down the trade in slaves, then you immediately restore to the shore of Africa what she has not known for centuries—that peace of which she has been deprived by the christians of Europe. Then you can introduce commerce and civilization into Africa, without the fear of being thwarted in your plans by the superior temptation placed in the way of the barbarian chief, by the prowler and kidnapper along her shores; then you can dispense with your armed cruisers, your tenders and steamboats; then you may make treaties with the native chiefs, who will be glad, for they will be compelled to do so, seeing that you will be the only party before them, the other party having been dismissed from their shores by the operation of this most powerful and pacific principle; then will you extend the benefits of education.

We are paying every year from fifteen to twenty millions for the support of slavery; while, by looking to our own British possessions, we might obtain our articles cheaper; we might send to those dependencies a much greater amount of our manufactures; we might promote the prosperity of the parent empire; we might give employment to our starving and dissatisfied fellow-citizens at home; we might give peace and security to Africa, and proclaim the year of deliverance to the slaves of America.

THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, THEOBALD MATHEW, AND SIX.  
TY THOUSAND (60,000) OTHER IRISHMEN.

DEAR FRIENDS :—You are at a great distance from your native land! A wide expanse of water separates you from the beloved country of your birth—from us, and from the kindred whom you love, and who love you, and pray for your happiness and prosperity in the land of your adoption.

We regard America with feelings of admiration: we do not look upon her as a strange land, or upon her people as aliens from our affections. The power of steam has brought us nearer together; it will increase the intercourse between us, so that the character of the Irish people and of the American people must in future be acted upon by the feelings and dispositions of each.

The object of this address is to call your attention to the subject of **SLAVERY IN AMERICA**—that foul blot upon the noble institutions and the fair fame of your adopted country. But for this stain, America would, indeed, be a land worthy of your adoption; but she will never be the glorious country that her free constitution designed her to be, so long as her soil is polluted by the footprint of a single slave.

Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth! A land of professing Christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings, the children of one common Father, who suffer the most grievous wrongs, and the utmost degradation, for no crime of their ancestors or their own! Slavery is a sin against God and man. All who are not for it must be against it. None can be neutral. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion and liberty.

It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation, under this withering curse. America is cursed by slavery! We call upon you to unite *with the abolitionists*, and never to cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are all children of the same gracious God, all equally entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We are told that you possess great power, both moral and political, in America. We entreat you to exercise that power and that influence for the sake of humanity.

You will not witness the horrors of slavery in all the States of America. Thirteen of them are *free*, and thirteen are *slave States*. But in all, the pro-slavery feeling, though rapidly decreasing, is still strong. Do not unite with it; on the contrary, oppose it by all the peaceful means in your power. Join with the abolitionists every where. They are the only *consistent advocates of liberty*. Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the white man, and slavery for the black man: that you are for liberty for all, of every color, creed, and country.

RICHARD M. JOHNSON.

The American citizen proudly points to the national Declaration of Independence, which declares that "All mankind are born free and equal, and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Aid him to carry out this noble declaration by obtaining freedom for the slave.

Irishmen and Irishwomen! treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren. By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery—cling by the abolitionists, and in America you will do honor to the name of Ireland.

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RICHARD M. JOHNSON.

Ireland feels the iron hoof of oppression. She cries aloud to the nations for sympathy. She is the best judge of the sufferings she endures—their extent—their intensity, and we as lookers-on, can not remain indifferent if we would. Ireland feels that she is not an integral portion of the British Empire—every act of the British Parliament tells her that she is an alien, an outcast, a neglected one. Ireland spurns the oppressor, and stands forward to vindicate and establish her right to self-government. Her struggle is peaceable—it is moral—irresistible—sublime. She does not struggle as we struggled against British power, with the bayonet and the cannon. No! she adopts another and a different force—the force of argument—of moral reasoning—of intellectual electricity. With these forces she hopes to rend asunder the puny manacles of British tyranny, and the cause of general liberty is too dear to American freemen not to wish her complete success. [Cheers.] *Some persons may take exceptions to these meetings, and may doubt the prudence of American citizens interfering in the cause of the oppressed. Gentlemen, my opinion is, that the cause of honor, and virtue, and charity when honestly followed, will always be found a prudent course. Above all, it is the only course which American freemen can pursue.* This is the land of the free, and the home of the brave, and we have an undoubted right to sympathise with the oppressed—to feed the hungry and clothe the naked from wheresoever they may appeal. We have the right, and may we never be wanting in the disposition to aid in the disenfranchisement of oppressed man, whether under an Irish or an Eastern sun. [Loud cheers.] I believe the sentiments I utter find a sincere response in your bosoms, and I believe nine-tenths of the American people would respond to the appeals of the oppressed in the same way.—*Speech at Frankfort Kentucky, 1842.*

## ROBERT R. MADDEN.

The efforts of the British government for the suppression of the slave trade have been right honestly, assiduously, and energetically directed to this great object, at least during the last four years of my knowledge of this suppression. It is impossible for any person not officially acquainted with these matters to form an adequate idea of the extent of these exertions, and the untiring energy and perseverance with which they have been carried on in various countries.

Great use is made in America of the extraordinary political influence of the poor people of this country who emigrate to America, and to the efforts that ought to be made to give them right and wholesome feelings on the subject of slavery, and a just understanding of the value of those efforts that are made to right the wronged, although the persons that are injured, and whose rights are outraged, are men of a different complexion to our own. It is impossible for any one who has not visited America, to conceive what an extraordinary influence, on the government of that country the votes of the Irish people have, or how little beneficial use they make of the power they possess and exercise at the hustings with such extraordinary effect.

They should not be left to depart from our own shores, ignorant that there does not exist in nature, in religion, or in civil polity, a reason for robbing any man of his liberty, be he black or white—that there is neither truth, justice, nor humanity in the declarations they hear, that slavery is consonant to the condition of negro men, has a sanction in nature, or is sanctified by the permission of any christian church. The fact must be forced on their attention by those who are best qualified to inform their minds and to gain their hearts—that slavery has no sanction from their church—that to devote one-fourth part of the habitable globe to perpetual bloodshed and warfare—to give up the vast continent of Africa to the ravages of the man-robbers who deal in flesh and blood—the marauders who sack the towns and villages—the merchant murderers who ply the odious trade, who separate the child from the mother, the husband from the wife, father from the son, is a monstrous system of cruelty that, in any of its forms, is intolerable and unjust. The state of things of which I speak I have myself seen; and the experience I have alluded to is the result of what I have observed on three occasions that I have visited the United States during the last six years. Of the necessity that exists for diffusing sounder opinions on the subject of slavery, I am sure I need bring forward no other argument than this—that if the political influence of the Irish settlers and emigrants of America were exerted in favor of the cause of the abolition of slavery in the United States, that system could not possibly endure!—*Speech at Dublin A. S. Society, 1842.*

Mr. Madden then adduced various authorities from the fathers, the doctrines of the church, and the decrees of the popes, against slavery.

“The great synod of Armagh, at a period of general consternation, declared that the public calamities were to be held as an infliction of divine justice on account of the sins of the Irish people.

and more especially because that in former times they used to make bond slaves of the English, whom they had purchased as well from merchants as from robbers and pirates—a crime for which God now took vengeance upon them, by delivering them into like bondage themselves. And acting upon the spirit of these humane and christian views, the synod unanimously decreed and ordered, that all the English throughout the island, who were in a state of slavery should be restored to their former freedom.”—*T. Moore's History of Ireland*, vol. 2. (This general act of emancipation of slaves, it is worthy of notice, is the first on record in any European country.)

“St. ELEGIUS, Bishop of Noyan, was particularly zealous to ransom captives. When a slave was to be sold in any place he hastened thither, and sometimes ransomed fifty or a hundred at a time, especially Saxons, who were sold in great numbers.”

“St. FRANCIS XAVIER walked through the streets of Goa, with a bell in his hand, summoning all masters, for the love of God, to send their children and slaves to catechism; and such was the effect of his preaching, restitution was made of unjust gains, slaves who had been unjustly acquired were set at liberty.”

“St. BATHILDES, Queen of France, forbade christians to be made slaves, gave great numbers their liberty, and declared all capable of property. The Franks still retained slaves, with this condition, attached to certain manors or farms, and bound to certain particular kinds of servitude. The kings of the second race often set great numbers free, and were imitated by other lords. Queen Blanche and St. Lewis contributed more than any others to ease the condition of the vassals; and Lewis Huttin abolished slavery in France, declaring all men free who live in that kingdom, according to the spirit of christianity, which teaches us to treat all men as our brethren.”

“After the departure of the Vandals with their captives and an immense booty, St. Leo X. sent zealous Catholic priests and alms for the relief of the captives in Africa.”

“St. AUGUSTIN sometimes melted down part of the sacred vessels to redeem captives, in which he was authorised by the example of St. Ambrose. He reprovcd one Romulus for the oppression of his poor vassals.”

“St. HILARY, to redeem captives, caused the church plate to be sold, not excepting the sacred vessels, making use of paters and chalices of glass in the celebration of the divine mysteries.”

“In the reign of Pope Pius V, fifteen thousand slaves that were found chained on board the gallics of the Turkish fleet were set at liberty.”

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### G. SEIDENSTICKER.

During the revolution in Goettingen, we had the pleasure of enjoying much of his society; we always found him an amiable friend, and a man fired with the enthusiasm for liberty and republican institutions; a man whom no obstacle could deter, and who never lost sight of the realization of his project and the performance of his duty. Often, when the courage of his friends began to fail, and doubts were

expressed as to the possible success of the undertaking, we have seen him point to America and place before our eyes the combats and vic-tories of the former colonies. Alas! he has been disappointed, for, cut off from his friends and those who shared his opinions in other parts of Hanover, without assistance from Brunswick and Hessa, we were obliged to yield to force. Many of our friends found safety in flight and protection in foreign lands, but Eggerling and Seiden-sticker, the most active members of the republican party, were taken and thrust into dungeons.

Forgetting his own suffering, Seidensticker remembers the misery of the oppressed slaves, and says in his letter written in prison.

"Warned as I feel with sympathy, every time that such men as Mr. Slade, deputy from Vermont, raise their voices for the abolition of slavery, this stain of infamy upon the United States, yet the in-terest in American institutions and the confidence in their advantages must be considerably diminished, nay the feelings of every philan-thropist must be outraged, when we read speeches, such as that of Mr. Calhoun, in the senate, and those of the deputies Wise and Le-gare, for Virginia and South Carolina."

#### CONRAD FRIEDRICH STOLLMMEYER.

What has brought about the fall of Sparta and the other Greek re-publics, as well as of proud Rome? A system of slavery, and a consequent demoralization. Why has the republic of Switzerland existed for more than five hundred years, surrounded by monarchies? Because slavery, the root of demoralization and despotism, has never been tolerated there. Our opinion, which is founded upon observa-tion of the natural course of events, is, that the curing of a disease produces health, not death, as well in the body of man as in the body of the state.

As an individual suffers, when his body is diseased, so does the citizen suffer from the malady of the state, when wrong is publicly defended by those who are charged with the care of the state, injus-tice will be heaped upon injustice. The defence of slavery is followed by the refusal of the right of petitioning, a right the violation of which overthrows the principles of the republic. The servants elect-ed by the people, the members of Congress, refused to listen to the wishes of their constituents, and by this act of violence assumed the character of dictators. Many who used to take no notice of the events at Washington, were aroused from their slumbers and per-ceived the threatening danger. The names of these violators of the constitution, are written down in unexpungable characters, and in time will not escape the general branding. Already the personal and party friends of these men admit this act to have been a blunder; but it is not only a blunder but an act of villany.

## DOMINIC SOTO.

"To Soto belongs the signal honor of being the first writer who condemned the African slave-trade." 'It is affirmed,' says he, 'that the unhappy Ethiopians are by fraud or force carried away and sold as slaves. If this is true, neither those who have taken them nor those who purchase them, nor those who hold them in bondage, can ever have a quiet conscience till they emancipate them, even if no compensation should be obtained.' As the work which contains this memorable condemnation of man-stealing and slavery was the substance of lectures many years delivered at Salamanca, philosophy and religion appear, by the hand of their faithful minister, to have thus smitten the monster in their earliest infancy. It is hard for any man of this age to conceive the praise which is due to the excellent monks who courageously asserted the rights of those whom they never saw, against the prejudices of their order, the supposed interest of their religion, the ambition of their government, the avarice, and pride of their countrymen, and the prevailing opinion of their time. —*Sir James Mackintosh.*

## POPE GREGORY XVI.

## BULL FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE NEGRO SLAVE TRADE.

On the 3d of December, 1839, the ninth year of the Pontificate. Placed as we are on the supreme seat of the Apostles, and acting, though by no merits of our own, as the vicegerent of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who through his great mercy condescended to make himself man and to die for the redemption of the world, we regard as a duty devolving on our pastoral functions, that we endeavor to turn aside our faithful flocks entirely from the inhuman traffic in negroes, or any other human beings whatsoever. Beyond a doubt, when the light of the gospel first began to diffuse itself, those unhappy persons, who were plunged into the severest condition of slavery, in consequence of the numerous wars at that time, found their condition alleviated among the christians. For the Apostles, inspired by the Divine Spirit, taught even their slaves to obey their carnal masters as Christ, and to do the will of God heartily. They also taught their masters that they should act well to their slaves, and do unto them what was just and equitable, and abstain from threats, knowing that the God both of them and their slaves, dwells in Heaven, and that with him there is no acceptance of persons. But while a sincere and universal spirit of charity is especially enjoined by the law of the Gospel, and our Lord himself said that he would consider any act of benevolence and mercy done to the least or poorest, or denied, as done or denied to himself, it readily followed that the christians not only considered their slaves, especially such as were christians, in the light of brothers, but were even very prone to endow with liberty such as deserved. Indeed Gregorius Nissenus informs us that such liberation of slaves was customary on the occasion of the paschal solemnities. Nor were there christians wanting, who, stirred up by a more burning zeal, subjected themselves to slavery to redem

others, many of whom that apostolical personage, our predecessor, CLEMENT, I. testifies that he knew. Hence, in progress of time, as the clouds of heathen superstition became gradually dispersed, circumstances reached that point that during several centuries there were no slaves allowed amongst the great majority of the christian nations, but with grief we are compelled to add, that there afterwards arose, even among the faithful, a race of men who, basely blinded by the appetite and desire of sordid lucre, did not hesitate to reduce in remote regions of the earth, Indians, negroes, and other wretched beings, to the miseries of slavery, or, finding the trade established and augmented, to assist the shameful crime of others. Nor did many of the most glorious of the Roman Pontiffs omit severely to reprove their conduct as injurious to their soul's health, and disgraceful to the christian name. Among these may be especially quoted the Bull of PAUL III. which bears date the 29th of May, 1537, addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo; and another still more comprehensive by URBAN VIII. dated the 22d of April, 1639, to the collector Jurium of the Apostolic Chamber in Portugal, most severely castigating by name, those who presumed to subject either East or West Indians to slavery. Pope BENEDICT XIV. subsequently confirmed these decrees of those distinguished Pontiffs by a new Bull, addressed to the heads of the governing authorities of Brazil, and other regions, on the 17th December, 1741. Even before another predecessor of ours, more ancient than these, Pius II., in whose age the dominion of Portugal was extended to Guinea, wrote on the 7th October, 1462, to the Portuguese bishop, who was about to repair thither, a letter, in which he not only gave to that high functionary powers to exercise with greater success his sacred ministry in those parts, but gravely animadverted on the same occasion upon those christians who carried youth into slavery. And in our own time Pius VII. moved by the same spirit of religion and charity as those who had gone before him, sedulously interposed his good offices with the men in power, that the trade in blacks should at length be put an end to entirely amongst the christians. These injunctions and these good offices of our predecessors served not a little, with the help of God, towards protecting the Indians and the other aforesaid races, both from the cruelty of their invaders and from the cupidity of the christian merchants; not to such an extent however, that the Holy See can have to rejoice at their flocks having totally abandoned such practices. since, on the contrary, the trade in blacks, though diminished to some extent, is still carried on by many christians; wherefore, we, desiring to avert this disgrace from the whole confines of christianity, having summoned several of our reverend brothers, their eminences the Cardinals, to our counsel, and having maturely deliberated on the whole matter, pursuing the footsteps of our predecessors, admonish by our apostolic authority, and urgently invoke in the name of God, all christians of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or despoil of their goods, Indians, negroes, or other classes of men, or to be accessories to others or furnish their aid or assistance in so doing; and on no account henceforth to exercise that inhuman traffic, by

which negroes are reduced to slavery, as if they were not men, but automata or chattels, and are sold in defiance of all the laws of justice and humanity, and devoted to severe and intolerable labors. We further reprobate by our apostolic authority all the above described offences as utterly unworthy of the christian name; and by the same authority we rigidly prohibit and interdict all and every individual, whether ecclesiastical or laical, from presuming to defend that commerce in negro slaves under any pretence or borrowed color, or to teach or publish in any manner, publicly or privately, things contrary to the admonitions which we have given in those letters.

And finally that this, our Bull, may be rendered more apparent to all, and that no person may allege any ignorance thereof, we decree and order that it shall be published according to custom, and copies thereof be properly affixed to the gates of St. Peter, and of the Apostolic Chancel every and in like manner to the General Court on Mount Pitatouia, and in the field of the Campus Flora, and also through the city by one of our heralds according to aforesaid custom.

Given at Rome, at the Palace of Santa Maria Major, under the seal of the fisherman (sub annulo piscatoris,) on the third day of Dec. 1837, and in the ninth year of our Pontificate. Countersigned by Cardinal A. LAMBROSCINI.

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*Address of the British residents of Gibraltar, Cadiz. Florence, Naples, Leghorn, Smyrna, Tripoli, Malta, and Goza.*

A testimonial of gratitude to his Highness, the Bashaw of Tunis, for his philanthropic and most noble resolution to abolish the inhuman and horrible traffic in slaves, throughout his extensive and very important African dominions.

We, the undersigned British residents, officers and merchants of Gibraltar, having heard of your Highness's philanthropic and noble intention to abolish the inhuman traffic in black slaves, throughout your territories, and that your Highness has, in completion of so solemn and humane a design, actually taken the preliminary steps, by suppressing all public places for the sale of negroes; foreseeing the vast consequences of good to humanity in the regions of North and Central Africa, which must inevitably follow from conduct so full of enlightened and princely philanthropy; recognizing in this spontaneous determination of your Highness, a manifest and all-impressive example to the Mahometan and Christian sovereigns of neighboring states, inciting them to similar efforts for the relief of the blacks of Africa, a large, but most degraded and suffering portion of the human race; remembering the immense sacrifices which our own country has made, and continues to make, in blood and treasure, to abolish throughout the world the foul crime of trafficking in the bodies and souls of men; feeling that your Highness's noble philanthropy will excite joy and thankfulness in the minds of our countrymen at home, as it does in our own breasts; we cannot but express our ardent admiration of your Highness's anti-slavery measures, and offer you our most cordial acknowledgment and thanks; wishing you all prosperity in your administration of the important regency of

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

Tunis; also every happiness in your personal and domestic relations, and in the life to come, a full reward for this great act of mercy to the forlorn and desolate children of Africa.

### MUSHEER AHMED BASHAW BEY.

Praise be to God!

From the servant of God, Musheer Ahmed Bashaw Bey, sovereign prince of the dominions of Tunis, to the perfectly honored Englishmen united together for the melioration of the human race. May God honor them!

We have received the letter which you have forwarded to us by the honored and revered Richardson, congratulating us upon the measures that we have adopted for the glory of mankind, to distinguish them from the brute creation.

Your letter has filled us with joy and satisfaction.

May God aid us in our efforts—may he enable us to accomplish the objects of our hopes—and may he accept this our work!

May you live continually under the protection of God Almighty!

Given at Tunis, 26th day Elhajah, 1257, (7th Feb. 1842.)

### JAMES RICHARDSON.

I went, whilst in Tunis, to see the demolished slave-market. I felt deeply when I saw the ruin of this crying iniquity. Hundreds of years human beings had been exposed for sale in that place, like cattle! How strange that a Mussulman state should tear down that den of traffic for the bodies and souls of men, while in Christian America this foul system still flourishes in such vigor!! How dreadful the responsibility of the Americans!

I made many inquiries as to the feeling of the Moors on this subject. I am most happy to say that the greater part are in favor of the Bey, but all obey. If slaves now are sold in Tunis, it is contraband, and with the greatest secrecy. It is now only exchange, one proprietor giving his slave to another proprietor for his. But all this is done in darkness. No slave can be bought or sold by the laws of the country. The prohibition is complete and absolute. And many of the courtiers of the Bey, following his noble example, are liberating their slaves—forever! He said personally to me among other things—"I began with pleasure the abolition of slavery, and will not cease to prosecute the great work of emancipation, until I have completely extirpated slavery from my dominions."

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### HYPPOLITE DE SAINT ANTHOINE.

The American families of my acquaintance seem to have one portion of their hearts open to the tenderest sentiments, while, whenever the subject is the melioration of the lot of these unfortunate blacks, another responds to the cruelest—namely, a blind prejudice. These distinguished families differ in this respect from the noble families of our own country, who in no case recognize the "aristocracy of the skin;" for all are in favor of the emancipation of the slaves. The class, not numerous, which opposes it here in France

is that which is connected by interest with the colonists, or hopes to obtain some thing of them.

I do not believe, that in the United States, the hour which shall give liberty to the slaves will be that of the extermination of the white race. Men were not made to destroy one another. Let the fearful take courage from the example of Antigua. Tranquillity and concord reign there. Commerce is more flourishing than ever before. It is an error then to believe that emancipation will be destructive to industry. The abolition of slavery will multiply men, talents, intelligence, and the objects of consumption. Emancipation will secure the whites from revolts and assassination, for, what was it but the great number of slaves which rendered revolts so frequent in the last days of the Roman republic? The unnatural condition of slavery places man in continual conflict with man, spoils one man of his rights without adding any thing to the real privileges of another; and, far from favoring liberty by elevating the soul of the master, it only develops those vicious propensities which plunge him in luxury and debauchery.

Can those who really believe in a Divinity, and who constantly invoke Him in all the actions of their lives, raise their hearts without remorse in view of the wrongs under which the unhappy blacks have been crushed?

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### JAMES HAUGHTON.

Slavery such as I have described to you exists, to an immense extent, in America. That highly professing people, who talk so much about liberty, and affect to despise the institutions of every other country in the world as unfit for men to live under—that country which has blazoned upon its standard one of the noblest declarations which has ever been promulgated, but which they have made a mere parchment record, having no place in their affections—that people have degraded themselves by a foul contact with slavery such as I have described; and it is to this degraded land that thousands of our countrymen are annually emigrating, unconscious that so great a blot rests upon it. America is a fine land, and her white people may well boast of the freedom they enjoy; but, so long as they retain three millions of their fellow-men in bondage merely on account of the dark color of their skins, their name will be dishonored on the earth. Let us endeavor to wash our hands clear of this wickedness, by telling every slave-holding American who comes among us, that we can hold no friendly communication with him—that we consider the crime of which he is guilty as degrading as any of the crimes which are considered among men every where as rendering their perpetrators infamous. Mr. Haughton here took a rapid survey of the condition of slaves in the southern states of the Union, and gave some account of the practice of breeding slaves for sale.—*Speech in Dublin.*

## THE LEGION OF LIBERTY.

### JUSTIN PERKINS, MISSIONARY IN PERSIA.

Every European who meets us, as he strolls through these distant regions, for curiosity, for honor, or for gain, goads us by tauntingly, but justly pointing us to American slavery, that blot of inconsistency which so mars the escutcheon of our republican glory. And were the natives of this country, to which we have come to bring the tidings of 'peace on earth and good will to men,' to know of the existence of American slavery, how would they be wrapt in amazement, and apply to us the cutting rebuke, 'physician, heal thyself;' and with reason; for degraded as are the lower classes, and particularly the nominally christians, in these countries, who are trodden down to the dust by their Mohammedan masters, and affecting as it often is, to witness their sufferings, there is still but a small comparison between the horrors of their condition and that of the southern slaves. Yes; though I blush, and my heart sinks at the acknowledgment, candor compels me to say, that in all my travels and residence in the regions of Mohammedan despotism, I have seen nothing in the shape of oppression to equal the rigors under which millions of immortal beings are at this moment groaning, in our own christian, protestant, republican America! May the first knowledge which Persians and Nestorians shall receive of American slavery, be the intelligence of its removal, and that 'right early.'

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### F. DE LA MENNAIS.

Love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself, and bondage would disappear from the earth.

But, in the mean time, those who profit from the bondage of their brethren, will spare no labor to prolong it. They will employ for this purpose both falsehood and force.

They will say, that the arbitrary dominion of some, and the bondage of all others is the established order of God; and to preserve their tyranny they will not fear to blaspheme Providence.

Say to such, that their god is Satan, the enemy of the human race, and that your God is he who hath conquered Satan.

Liberty is like the kingdom of heaven; it suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.

But the violence which shall place you in the possession of liberty, is not the ferocious violence of thieves and robbers, oppression, vengeance, and cruelty; but a will strong and inflexible, a courage calm and generous.

The most holy cause becomes most impious and execrable, when crime is employed to sustain it. The man of crime, from a slave may become a tyrant, but never will he become free.—*Words of a Believer.*

## L.AIME-MARTIN.

Bring together a Turk, a Russian, a Chinese, and with pain we venture to write, an American of the United States; accuse the Chinese of assassinating his own children, the Turk of mutilating men, the Russian of selling at once the soil and the peasant, the American of breeding slaves in the land of Liberty; you hear them all without a blush plead innocent of these crimes, which they have inherited from public opinion, and which are screened by education.

Nature owns neither nobles nor vassals, neither masters nor slaves, neither French nor Germans, nor English; all are men! Under the dominion of this sublime truth, what people will dare to sell slaves! what nation will dare to declare war against another! what man will dare to despise his fellow?

And now we begin to comprehend the work of the creator. We love our family more than ourselves, our country more than our family, and the human race more than our country, our soul embraces the world and expands beyond it. From people to people she has arrived to the unity of the human family.

Our actions result in the rewards or pains which they merit. Good reciprocates good, evil reproduces evil. If thou buy and sell men and hold slaves, all the vices of slavery will be entailed on thy family.

White is found with cold, and brown, red and black with heat. This general law is perpetuated in the color of the human race. Dark under the rays of the sun, and white in the temperate regions. No condemnation of your poor Africans; if the doctors curse you, Nature blesses you, if monstrous prejudices make you a terrible exception, Nature, like a tender mother, embraces you in the generality of her laws.—*Civilization of the human family by means of Woman.*

## M. DE TOCQUEVILLE.

## UNANIMOUS OPINION OF THE COMMISSION.

Your Commission have been unanimous in the opinion, that the time has come to engage actively in the final abolition of slavery in our colonies; and they have thought it their duty to endeavor to devise the best method of accomplishing that object.

Two general systems have naturally presented themselves.

The first gives liberty to the slaves individually, and by a succession of slow and progressive measures.

The second puts a stop to servitude at once, and for every slave.

Your Commission, after mature investigation, were of the unanimous opinion, that simultaneous emancipation presented less inconvenience and fewer perils than gradual emancipation.

Your Commission being thus convinced, that universal emancipation was the least dangerous mode of destroying slavery, have applied themselves wholly to the inquiry as to the general conditions and the manner in which this emancipation should be effected.

Your Commission have repelled at once the idea of assimilating slave property to other kinds of property protected by law. They do

not admit that the restoring of a negro to liberty is a parallel case to that of a forced exaction of property by the state for the public good. Man has never had the right of possessing man, and the possession itself has always been and still is unlawful.

And even if principles concerning the use of property for the good of the community were here applicable, it is evident that the planter could not, in accordance with these principles, claim in advance the reimbursement of the total value of the slave, for in the place of the slave whom the law takes from him, it offers him a free laborer. The free workman, it is true, will only serve for wages; but the slave himself can only serve on condition of purchase, nourishment, protection, and clothing, which are wages under another form. The property of the planter, then, is not invaded by the fact of emancipation! he has strictly no right to an indemnity, unless, by the yet doubtful result of this emancipation, the negroes refuse to work, or the wages which they demand for their labor shall exceed the sum for which their co-operation could be compelled during slavery.

It is, nevertheless, the unanimous opinion of your Commission, that it would be neither humane, equitable, nor wise to refuse assistance to the colonies at the hour when a general emancipation is declared, and during its operation.

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#### VICTORIA REGINA.

*My Lords and Gentlemen:*—"It is with great satisfaction that I am enabled to inform you, that throughout the whole of my West Indian possessions, the period fixed by law for the final and complete emancipation of the negroes has been anticipated by acts of the colonial legislature, and that the transition from the temporary system of apprenticeship to entire freedom, has taken place without any disturbance of public order and tranquillity. Any measures which may be necessary in order to give full effect to this great and beneficial change will, I have no doubt, receive your careful attention.—*Speech to Parliament, Feb. 5, 1839.*

It is with great satisfaction, I inform you, that I have concluded with the Emperor of Austria, the King of the French,\* the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, a treaty for the effectual suppression of the slave trade, which, when the ratifications shall have been exchanged, will be communicated to Parliament.—*Speech Feb. 3, 1842.*

\* Postponed

HANNAH F. GOULD.

*Who is thy Neighbor?*

Thy neighbor! Yonder toiling slave,  
Fetter'd in thought and limb,  
Whose thoughts are all beyond the grave  
Go thou and ransom him.

Whene'er thou meet'st a human form  
Less favor'd than thine own,  
Remember 'tis thy neighbor worm,  
Thy brother, or thy son.

O pass not, pass not heedless by;  
Perhaps thou canst redeem  
The breaking heart from misery;  
Go share thy lot with him.

HISTORY OF ABOLITION.

"The abolition decree of the Great Council of England was passed in 1102. The memorable Irish decree, 'that all English slaves in the whole of Ireland be immediately emancipated and restored to their former liberty,' was issued in 1171. Passing over many instances of the abolition of slavery by law, both during the middle ages and since the reformation, we find them multiplying as we approach our own times. In 1776, slavery was abolished in Prussia by special edict. In St. Domingo, Cayenne, Gaudaloupe, and Martinique, in 1794, where more than 600,000 slaves were emancipated by the French government. In Java, 1811; in Ceylon, 1815; in Buenos Ayres, 1816; in St. Helena, 1816; in Colombia, 1821; by the congress of Chili in 1821; in Cape Colony, 1823; in Malacca, 1825; in the southern provinces of Birmah, 1826; in Bolivia, 1826; in Peru, Guatemala and Montevideo, 1828; in Jamaica, Barbadoes, the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Anquilla, Mauritius, St. Christopher's, Nevis, the Virgin Islands, (British,) Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Vincent's, Grenada, Barbice, Tobago, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Honduras, Demerara, Essequibo, and the cape of Good Hope, on the 1st of August, 1834. But, waiving details, suffice it to say that England, France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Germany, have all, and often, given their testimony to the competency of the legislative power to abolish slavery. In our own country, the legislature of Pennsylvania, passed an act of abolition in 1780; Connecticut in 1784, Rhode-Island in 1784, New-York in 1799, New-Jersey in 1804, Vermont by constitution in 1777, Massachusetts, in 1780, and New-Hampshire in 1784."—*Anti-Slavery Examiner*.

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THE LEGION OF LIBERTY

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